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WAP DEPARTMENT

AMERICAN EMBASSY  
OFFICE OF THE MILITARY ATTACHE.  
BUENOS AIRES, ARGENTINA.

December 27th, 1928

3918

Subject: Visit of President Elect Hoover.

To : A. C. of S., G.-2.

RECEIVED G-2 W. D. JAN 18 1929

1. President elect Hoover and party arrived in Buenos Aires on the 13th inst., about 7 PM. He was met at the Station by President Irigoyen, his Cabinet, and his Military and Naval Staff, as well as by numerous other high officials of the Government. Mrs. Hoover was met by the Sister of the President. The greeting was noisy and clamorous and closely bordered on riotous but without any bad feeling. Except for occasional cries outside the station of Viva Sandino there was no antagonistic attitude. The government and city had provided sufficient police for the occasion but they did not arrive at the station until forty five minutes before the Presidential train and the station was already a seething mass of people which they found unable to clear or handle. It was only after severe crushing and pushing in which both Presidents suffered that they were able to get them to their car.

The situation was badly handled from a police point of view but in all the demonstration a desire to see and cheer both Presidents was predominant and we were all agreeably surprised at the extremely friendly reception.

The President elect and President Irigoyen drove immediately to the Embassy where the Hoover family stayed during their visit. Mr. Irigoyen remained at the Embassy for some time in conference with Mr. Hoover. Other than the reception at the station and a short visit at the Embassy by the receiving members of Mr. Irigoyen's party no further entertainment was planned for the evening of the 13th and Mr. Hoover's party retired early.

2. On the 14th a luncheon was given by the Congress to Mr. Hoover and his party in the halls of Congress. On this occasion the Vice President called for Mr. Hoover and escorted him to the luncheon.

In the evening of the same day a large banquet was given by the President of the Republic to Mr. Hoover at which time short speeches of welcome and thanks were exchanged by the two Presidents.

3. On the 15th the day was occupied by visits to all public works a trip being made in the Presidents yacht throughout the harbor. Mrs. Hoover accompanied by the ladies of the Embassy visited the principal hospitals.

Throughout the visit Mrs. Hoover was entertained by the Ladies of the nation at such times as luncheons and

and banquets were being given to the President elect and his party.

On the evening of the 15th a gala performance of the opera was given by the President to Mr. Hoover and his party. This opera was especially arranged and as it was very much out of season it was a very difficult process.

4. During the entire visit it was quite evident that the Official Government was doing everything possible to make Mr. Hoover's visit a success and to set aside all feeling of strained relations. With the exception of the luncheon given by congress Mr. Irigoyen called for Mr. Hoover and escorted him to all functions. The City was brilliantly decorated with the Argentine and American colors. It is deemed worthy of mention that in all the functions given, even the opera the President of the Republic personally handled and distributed all the tickets.

5. On the morning of the 16th Mr. Hoover and party departed from Buenos Aires for Montevideo on the Argentine Cruiser Buenos Aires which had been donated by the Argentine Government for the purpose. While the leave taking was early in the morning there was an enormous turn out and Mr. Irigoyen and his cabinet were on hand to bid Mr. Hoover farewell. In addition to the Hoover party, the Naval Attache and the Military Attache and his wife accompanied Mr. Hoover to Montevideo.

6. The "Buenos Aires" arrived in Montevideo about 7:30 PM, and Mr. Hoover was received by President Campisteguy and the members of his Cabinet and other high officials. Mrs. Hoover was met by the wife of the President and immediately escorted to her hotel.

A review of the troops stationed in and about the City of Montevideo was held but as it was after dark it lost a great deal of its color. The troops were paraded in full dress and their uniforms and equipment looked very well. They showed evidence of excellent parade ground instruction.

While the reception in Montevideo was very warm an organized demonstration by anarchists and communists was staged. A group gathered in the plaza opposite to the reviewing stand in the Government House and shouted Viva Sandino and Viva Sacco, Vanzetti. They were promptly arrested by the police and marched off to jail. During the entire visit in Uruguay this demonstration continued as we passed through the streets. The city was also placarded with signs the subject of which was down with American Imperialism.

There was no further official function on the evening of the 16th and the Hoover party retired.

7. A luncheon was given at noon on the 17th by the American Minister, Mr. Grant-Smith. The ladies attending a luncheon given by Senora Shaw one of the leading Uruguayan ladies. During the afternoon the President elect received the American Colony and the Diplomatic Corp. At 6 PM the President called for Mr. Hoover and took him for a tour of the City. In the morning of the 17th the entire Hoover Party visited the various institutions of the Government where greetings were exchanged.

On the evening of the 17th a banquet was given by the President of the Republic to the President Elect at

cont.

Page 3

which greetings were exchanged.

A banquet was also given this evening for the ladies of the Hoover party by the wife of the President. After both banquets a reception was held at the home of the President.

8. On the morning of the 18th Mr. Hoover and his party departed being accompanied to sea by the Cruiser Uruguay which was offered for the purpose. After transferring the President elect and his party to the Utah the usual exchange of Presidential salutes was observed and the Cruiser Uruguay accompanied the Utah fifteen miles to sea where again the usual exchange of salutes was made.

9. All in all the warmth of the greeting in Uruguay was more pronounced than in the Argentine but a much greater effort was being put forth on the part of Argentina to make her greeting cordial. The police of Uruguay was better than that of Buenos Aires.

10. While it is too soon to make any comment on the result of Mr. Hoover's visit, it is quite clear that it has generally had a pronounced good effect and Mr. Hoover's gesture of friendliness has been very much appreciated.

*E. C. Fleming*  
E. C. Fleming,  
Capt., A.G.S.  
Military Attaché.

Enclosures.

Illustrated Newspapers & Magazines

AMERICAN EMBASSY  
OFFICE OF THE MILITARY ATTACHE.  
BUENOS AIRES, ARGENTINA.

March 8th, 1929

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF  
MIL. INTEL. DIV.

2-1 APR 5 2 657-2-90 1929  
2  
WAR DEPARTMENT

3965

Subject: Report on the attitude of the Press  
on President Hoover's Inauguration address

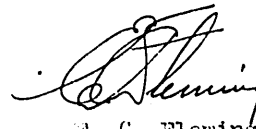
To: A. C. of S. G-2.

RECEIVED G-2 W. D. APR 4 1929

1. Mr. Hoover's inauguration address has been received throughout Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay with a great deal of enthusiasm and has been followed by repeated congratulatory editorials in the press. It is heralded as a new note in the relations between the United States and the countries of South America. Special comment, of course, has been given to that part of the address which denies a desire on our part to extend our territory or holdings. And also our desire not to interfere in the sovereignty of any other nation.

2. Since the visit of Mr. Hoover there has undoubtedly been a great change of heart and a much better feeling towards the United States and it only needed this inauguration address to bring forth the editorials referred to.

3. These editorials were not confined to our former friends but were general. The newspaper "La Prensa" contained about four different articles all very friendly and complementary on the address.



E. C. Fleming  
Captain G.S.  
Military Attaché.

## ARGENTINE (Population and Social)

(c) Propaganda of Foreign Origin

RECEIVED BY THE BUREAU 16 1929

An organized system of anti-American (United States) propaganda is being conducted here by the British. This propaganda has been carefully organized and is being put out by a directing head in a systematic manner. It has recently been intensified by the inroads made by United States industrial interests into fields previously controlled by the British. The outstanding cases being the purchase of The United River Platte Telephone Co., by the International Telephone & Telegraph Co., and the purchase of the Atlas Power and Light Co., by the Electric Bond & Share Co. There are also threatened inroads into the British Railroad holdings that are causing alarm.

While the propaganda is principally induced by commercial competition it is being carried beyond that by encouraging in every way the already existing anti-American feeling. Particular stress is being given to the tariff question. A very active interest is being taken by the English Argentines in the affairs of the Sociedad Rural Argentina and a great deal of publicity is being given to their appeals to fight the tariff in the United States.

Our activity in the Pan American Airways is also claiming their attention. "The Review of the River Platte" a local weekly, controlled by the British, attributes our success in this field to our late entry into the World War..

All reports of our Commercial Attache are published but are generally followed by editorials purporting to show that the figures have been juggled to our advantage. Very recently an editorial published in The Review of the River Platte accused our Commercial Attache of successfully obtaining much free advertising through his reports.

The Agencies employed to spread this propaganda are the English owned dailies, The Buenos Aires Herald and The Standard and the Weekly "The Review of the River Platte". It is also believed that directly or indirectly some control is being exercised over the leading Spanish daily the "La Prensa".

The prime mover behind this propaganda is the British Ambassador, Sir Malcolm Robertson, and his staff, while the directing Chief of the propaganda, we are informed, is Sir Herbert Gibson, editorial writer of the Standard. A short biography of Sir Herbert Gibson follows:

Sir Herbert Gibson is about 62 years of age. Conflicting reports state that he was born in the Argentine and in England. He has spent forty years in the Argentine and the balance of the time in England. His family has been connected with and resided in the Argentine for over one hundred years. He has been called a pioneer of National progress in the Argentine, having worked and studied its economical development for many years.

He has been Vice President of the Sociedad

Rural

Rural Argentina. In 1894 the Governor of the Province of Buenos Aires commissioned him to study meat exportation in Europe, also agricultural development. Later in 1899 he was named Argentine Representative to the Exposition in Philadelphia.

He has also been director of the Water Works of the City of Buenos Aires.

Strictly anonymously he has for many years collaborated to National Journalism, writing and making studies of economic questions.

During the World War he was in Europe. In 1916 he was a member of the High Economic Commission on the Franco-British Front. He served his country (England) contributing to the Organization of 'perfected auxiliary services' of the army, dealing with economics.

In 1918 he acted as British Commissioner to Argentina and Uruguay for negotiating the harvest (Commission for the purchase of cereals).

In 1919 the King of England "Knighthood" him for his valuable services during the War as a commercial aide and for his assistance in the purchase of food products.

Sir Herbert is also a member of the Argentina Society of English Culture in Buenos Aires at which he has given many lectures on modern English Classical works. He has also given many conferences on Economic subjects.

In addition to the discrediting propaganda above referred to a constant flow of pro British propaganda fills the papers daily. Their mail and shipping news is given preference. The luxuries of British ships and the sales activities of British firms are made items of news rather than advertising. The passenger lists of vessels flying the British flag are always published and long items with photographs of distinguished visitors from England are given prominence.

During the first week of January 1929, The Anglo Foreign Newspaper, Ltd., a \$15,000,000.00 holding company was formed in London with the expressed purpose of acquiring control of British and Continental papers. However our Counsel General informs us that this company is already looking over the field in South America.

It would appear from the above report that it would be of great advantage to the United States if we had some newspaper organs both English and Spanish through which we could speak. The three English publications mentioned above are paying investments and more than half of their circulation is among the American Colony, while a good share of their advertising is either by American firms or of American made goods.

Sources: Local periodicals.  
Biography from private files  
of reliable source.  
✓ Embassy, consulate and  
reliable confidential source.

  
From M.A. Argentina.

Report 3955

February 21st, 1929.

G-2 Report

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MAY 11 1929  
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2900

ARGENTINA (Population and Social)

Subject: Propaganda

(c) Propaganda of Foreign Origin. MAY 11 1929

Reference to our Report No. 3955 Sir Herbert Gibson and Lady Madalein Gibson sailed on Tuesday April 16th for Great Britain.

Sir Herbert Gibson's statement to the press was that his trip was purely for pleasure and health. He stated however he was interested in the British Trade Fair which will take place here in February of 1930 and that he would follow its developments while in England.

He has temporarily been succeeded in his position as Chairman of the British Chamber of Commerce, by Mr. H. B. Buxton; Mr. Buxton by the way is the Argentine distributor for the Hudson and Essex automobiles here.

Sources:  
Daily papers

*W. Fleming*  
From: M.A. Argentina.

Report No. 3984 (C) April 17th, 1929

G-2 Report

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OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF  
MINIST. DIV.  
JUN 26 1929  
2657-2-91  
2900  
WAR DEPARTMENT

ARGENTINA (Population and Social)

Subject: Propaganda

(c) Propaganda of Foreign Origin.

RECEIVED G/2-W. D. JUN 20 1929

Referring to our report No. 3955, we are reliably advised that a new campaign of Anti United States Propaganda will be inaugurated by the British here within the next three weeks. The excuse and basis for this new campaign will be the rumoured purchase of the Buenos Aires Pacific Railroad by certain unknown American interests. The subject of this purchase has already been made a matter of much newspaper comment and as you have probably been advised the British Board of Directors of that company in London passed a regulation that no stock of their Company could be sold to any but British or Argentine citizens. This very childish tactic had the reverse action of removing the stock of said Railway from the London exchange. In this connection the Minister of the Interior has stated personally to our informant that such a regulation would be unconstitutional in Argentina.

This Propaganda campaign will be a general one against all inroads to American capital but the special point they intend to stretch will be the purchase of public utilities by American capital and an attack on American banking and investment business, claiming they do not carry sufficient gold reserve in this country.

My informant Dr. Alejandro Unsain, Chief Editor of the spanish evening daily "La Razon" advises me that every paper in Buenos Aires including his own have been approached. In answer to the direct question; "Had his advertising been threatened" he answered "Not directly" it was simply understood that his paper was expected to give results. When asked if it were not true that 70% of the articles advertised in the papers and magazines of Argentina were American, he answered, yes, but the great majority of the distributors of these items were British and these were the people who gave the advertising.

This propaganda is being backed by the British Chamber of Commerce but will be put out and engineered from the offices of the Buenos Aires and Pacific Railroad under the direction of Señor Manuel A. Montes de Oca, Chairman of the Argentine Board of Directors. Sr. Montes de Oca is also President of the Union Telephone and Telegraph Company which was recently purchased by the International Telegraph and Telephone Company and the latter have recommended that he be retained in that position. However they learned at the same time as myself of his other activities and are taking further counsel in the matter.

Attached is a biography of Señor Montes de Oca containing additional information to our report No. 3778 of April 6th, 1927.

From: M.A. Argentina

Report No. 3998

May 28th, 1929

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2900

ARGENTINA (Population and Social)

Subject: Propaganda

(c) Propaganda of Foreign Origin. (Cont'd)

Attached is also the biography of our informant  
Dr. Alejandro Unsain.

Sources: Vice President and Secretary of the  
International Telegraph and Telephone Company

Dr. Alejandro Unsain.

From: M.A. Argentina

Report No. 3998

May 28th, 1929

DR. ALEJANDRO M. UNSAIN

Dr. Unsain is a man who has dedicated many years study to labour conditions in most countries of the world. He is the author of a work entitled "Legislación del Trabajo" (Labour Legislation) published in three volumes; the last of these three was finished at the beginning of 1929.

In 1926 he was Argentine Consul in Geneva and was appointed delegate to the International Labour Conference held in Geneva in 1927. Previous to this he had been Argentine delegate to the League of Nations in the Conferences held in Washington in 1919 and in Geneva in 1920.

For many years he has been an important collaborator to the daily newspaper "La Razón" of which he is now Chief Editor.

He has held honorary positions as member of the Municipal Committee for supplies; technical councillor of the "Caja de Jubilaciones" (Pension Fund) which exists under law 11289. He has been a delegate of the Executive Power in several labour troubles. For several years he temporarily held the position of President of the National labour Department.

In January 1928 he was named Secretary to the interventor in the Province of Santiago del Estero.

In Argentina he is considered an intellectual and talented man who for over twenty years has dedicated his time to the studies of labour conditions, labour problems, labour organizations etc.

MANUEL AUGUSTO MONTES DE OCA

Doctor in Jurisprudence; son of Juan Jose Montes de Oca (National Deputy, President of the Municipal Council Bs. Aires and Chairman of the Faculty of Law of the National University) and Natalia Varela; born in Buenos Aires 1867, Educated National College and Faculty of Law, Bs. Aires University; Graduated 1888; Legal Adviser to the Argentine Legation in London, 1899-1903, on the Chilian Boundary Question, receiving the thanks of the British Government and present of a piece of plate (1903); Special Envoy of the Argentine Government to the coronation of King Edward VII 1902; on various occasions legal adviser to the British Legation at Bs. Aires; Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1906; Minister of the Interior, 1907, during presidency of Dr. Figueroa Alcorta; Special Ambassador to Brazil, 1910; Delegate of the Argentine Government to Fourth Pan-American Congress at Bs. Aires, 1910; Chairman of Public Libraries Commission, Bs. Aires; National Deputy for the Capital, 1910 resigning in 1913; occupies Chairs of National History Introduction to Law and Constitutional Law, Faculty of Law, Bs. Aires University; Delegate of Faculty of Law to the Superior University Council; Member, (Hon. Causa) Brazilian Institute of Advocates, Bs. Aires and American Society of Political and Social Sciences, New York; President Local Board: Chemins de Fer de la Province de Santa Fe; Director (Local Board) Central Cordoba Railway; Director; Banco el Hogar; legal adviser to important companies and corporations; Commander of the Legion of Honour; Chavalier (Grand Cross) Royal Order of Isabel Le Catolic; Coronation Medal (Edward VII), 1902. Publication: Represion (1889); Efecto de la Ley con relación al tiempo (1890); Lecciones de Derecho Constitucional, 2 vols., (1896); Limites con Chile, (1899); Cuestiones constitucionales (1904). Clubs: Circulo de Armas, Jockey, Bs. Aires Rowing.

## ARGENTINA(Political

## Subject: Foreign Relations

(a) Status of Relations with Foreign Countries.

After a small luncheon given by me on August 28th at which the guest of honour was Sr. Alejandro Unsain, editor of the evening daily newspaper "La Razón", the other guests being Mr. John Campbell White, Counsellor of our Embassy, Mr. George Messersmith, American Consul General, Captain C. L. Arnold, Naval Attaché at this Embassy and Mr. George Train of the National City Company; I learned from each of the guests except Sr. Unsain, what they had gathered from our discussions throughout the luncheon.

Sr. Unsain whom we reported as being considered very friendly to the United States under Report No. 3998, spoke freely. He confirmed the fact that the United States was generally disliked and feared, that her citizens were unpopular and the public opinion was hostile to her business interests. He gave as a reason for this attitude the following:

American capital and investments in the "frigorificos" which come closely in contact with the heart of Argentina in its rural districts. That these institutions because of their enormous holdings are blamed for the low prices of cattle and sheep. That because of their power they can dictate what prices they will pay.

That fear existed that American capital might produce intervention in Argentina. This sort of propaganda of course, is fostered by all anti-American interests in South America such as the Anti-Imperialist group, the British and others. American interventions in the Caribbean are cited and attention is called to the fact that these interventions followed closely upon the investment of American Capital. The most recent citation being that immediately following the so called intervention in Nicaragua we sent American engineer troops to make a survey for a new canal. Incidentally great stress is laid on the word troops by the newspapers here and it is continually used in the dispatches from the United Press and the Associated Press at home.

The exorbitant terms and cheap material that were sold in Argentina during and just after the War when no other similar materials were obtainable from other sources.

The type of news that is sent from the United States by our various press organizations. Great stress being laid by our press on murders, divorce, social and political scandals, prohibition shootings and so forth, with very little on the side of science and culture to balance the other news. In other words that we are washing our dirty linen and casting the scandals of our own country before the world.

Sr. Unsain attributed the bomb outrages here at the time of the Sacco Vancetti execution, to the feeling aroused by

## ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Foreign Relations.

(a) Status of Relations with Foreign Countries.

the type of news distributed in the cables from the United States on this matter.

That there are also cases of careless translation of press cables from English to Spanish. Altogether the character of news cabled here from the United States is undesirable

It is most important that the selection of special feature writers for American newspapers sent to or located in South America should be made with the greatest care.

The United States had failed to counteract any of the above impression, or the impression that we are sordid money grubbers, by sending lecturers, men of intellectual achievements, scientists and so forth to present the cultural side of American life. These men should not be sent in groups as missions or individually as officials, but a constant flow of this type of American should be kept in South America especially Argentina. Also that the United States should invite men of letters and science or political distinction to visit their country as their guests. That people of this type favourably impressed would be of more assistance to the United States in Argentina than any number of missions.

In this connection if it were possible I am sure an invitation to visit the United States to attend any of our manoeuvres would be greatly appreciated here. General Severo Toranzo is at present the guest of the German Army at their annual manoeuvres, having gone there by invitation.

The United States has failed to do anything to combat the Anti-American propaganda by European elements especially the British.

Sr. Unsain stated that he believes Bolivia and Paraguay will go to war and that it is generally believed that the United States is backing Bolivia because of the heavy investments supposed to be held by the United States in Bolivia.

He also stated that the large Buenos Aires daily "La Nación" was backed by a certain amount of American capital. That Dr. Mitre, the Managing Director, had effected a loan in the United States and that the lenders had insisted upon some sort of a hold over the paper. He cited as evidence, articles by Dr. Enrique Gil, President of the Universities Club and Dr. Alejandro Bunge, President of the Trimotor Safety Airways Inc. who are both pro-American.

It is believed that the Buenos Aires daily "La Razón" is on the market and would gladly welcome American capital. It is not believed however that this fact tempered Sr. Unsain's remarks. Any investments of American capital in a local newspaper here, if known, would, of course, be looked upon as propaganda, so such investments would have to be through local interests known to be pro-American.

From: M.A. Argentina. Report No. 4033 September 17th, 1929

2657-L-91

October 19, 1929.

RECEIVED  
OCT 22 1929  
WAR DEPARTMENT

Subject: Invitation to maneuvers.

To: Military Attache, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

1. In your Report No. 4033, of September 17, 1929, on the subject "Status of Relations with Foreign Countries", the following statement is made:

"In this connection if it were possible I am sure an invitation to visit the United States to attend any of our manoeuvres would be greatly appreciated here. General Severo Toranzo is at present the guest of the German Army at their annual manoeuvres, having gone there by invitation."

2. Without committing ourselves to any further action, it is desired to have your comments and a recommendation as to the details of when and in what manner this suggestion, contained in your report, can be put into effect.

For the A. C. of S., G-2:

Vaughn W. Cooper,  
Lieut-Colonel, General Staff,  
Executive Officer, G-2.

hbr

MAILED G-2 W. D. OCT 22 1929

4-1 2657-L-91 1930

G-2 Report

3850

ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Foreign Relations.

RECEIVED G/2 W.D. JUL 18 1930

(a) Status of Relations with Foreign Countries.

ARGENTINA AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The President of Argentina, is reported by the people close to him, as being more intensely anti-American than ever. The causes of this feeling are given as follows: first - the tariff in the United States, which he believes will work great distress for Argentine trade, which, of course, is being used by our enemies here on every hand as the means of increasing anti-American feeling. Secondly - there is a persistent rumour current here, which they are only too ready to believe that the Standard Oil Company is furnishing the money to provoke trouble in Bolivia. This, of course, would keep Argentina engaged in the North and give Chile the opportunity she has been awaiting in the South to seize Patagonia. Third - there is a rumour current that American interests have obtained control of the Villalonga Company. This is an express company, which corresponds to the American Express Company in the United States, operating in connection with all the Steamship Lines, Hotels, and Railroad Companies. It was further rumoured that this Company, under the new control, intended to extend their activities to the operation of a system of bus lines throughout the country in competition with the National Railways. However, we give little credit to this last rumour, which we have endeavoured to investigate, because the roads of the country would not permit the operation of any bus system.

The Argentine Peso continues to fall at an alarming rate, the business situation is becoming critical. A great deal of this situation, of course, is blamed on the new tariff in the United States as they claim that the tariff will materially reduce their exports to our country. This feeling of bitterness toward our new tariff is not entertained by the Argentines alone, but is shared by all foreigners and the entire American community, which only adds fuel to the fire. Numerous American business men are fearful that their interests here are going completely to ruin, and at the present time are having a terrific struggle to keep their heads above water. To sight one example the international Telephone and Telegraph Company has been counting on certain concessions in Argentina, also on permission from the Government to make a slight raise in their rate so that they could carry on the extension of their services throughout the country, and better their service by putting some new installations where old and antiquated installations are at present. They advised me yesterday that the Anti-American feeling in the Administration at this time is so bad that they had abandoned all hope of getting them for a long time to come. The result is they must cut down on a great deal of the work planned and the work that is in progress. This will result in the discharge of a large number of employees, and much un-employment. The same thing is happening to the Standard Oil Company, the Electric Bond and Share, the Frigorificos and other American interests.

From: M. A. Argentina Report No. 4187 June 27, 1930

## ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Foreign Relations

(a) Status of Relations with Foreign Countries. (Cont'd)

The Minister of the Interior is greatly alarmed, and together with the President of the Bank of the Nation he called upon President Irigoyen to warn him against this wave of anti-American feeling, because they would be urgently in need of American friendship in the near future. They feel that the country is approaching a financial crisis that should come to a head between the latter part of August and the first of October, and they advised the President that there were only two things that could save the country - the flotation of a large loan, or the issue of more paper money. This latter course is deplored, as they claim that it would be financial suicide. As there is only one place where the desired loan could be floated they urged upon the President to refrain from displaying his anti-American feeling, and to maintain cordial relations with our country.

I spoke with the Executives of three different Banks, and while they did not agree with the above in its entirety they said they expected the peso to continue to fall to 1.35, which amounts to about \$3.00 m/n Argentine for one dollar U.S. They do not feel that they could make a loan unless the Government opened the Caja de Conversion while the Administration feels that this might result in a disastrous run on the Caja, and deplete the gold reserve of the country. The Bank Executives do not share this fear.

Sources: Reliable - Persons close to the Minister of the Interior.

  
From: M. A. Argentina Report No. 4187 June 27, 1930

FOR OFFICIAL USE  
ONLY

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF  
MIL. INTELL. DIV.

APR 20 2657 L 91 1932

G-2 Report

ARGENTINA (Population & Social)

Subject: Propaganda.

(c) Propaganda of Foreign Origin:

In the newspapers published in English and Spanish in this country there have lately appeared articles of appreciation or depreciation of this country and of Uruguay written by foreign journalists visiting these parts. There has been no little indignation at the incursion of this type of journalism. A reproof has been delivered by the newspaper "El Diario" in an article which we freely translate below:

"Many foreigners visit our country, and our guests are both male and female. They overrun the land as if they were in an aeroplane and think that thanks to this one bird's eye view they are qualified to express categorical opinions regarding our government, our politics, our men and our affairs in general. No journalist who respects himself will venture an opinion regarding the political idiosyncrasy of a nation without having been resident therein for a considerable time, rubbing shoulders with all manner of people and ascertaining their opinion, be it good or be it bad. We have had staying among us great literary, journalistic and scientific notabilities; people who have come to scrutinise with care our surroundings, our men and our customs, but to none of them has it ever occurred to deliver a categorical opinion regarding Argentine politics. It would have been on their part a serious blot on their own erudition. Ferrero, Clemenceau, Viviani, Ferri, Hoover, and to close the list, our lamented colleague Huret, spoke of the Argentine Republic under its exotic as well as its social aspect, but never went so far as to give their opinion as to whether a government was good or bad, or whether the implantation of some other form of government was desirable. Those opinions they kept to themselves, for they knew full well that opinions of outsiders regarding the political manoeuvres of an intimate nature characteristic of any country, even if uttered through painted lips or written by white and juvenile hands, please nobody and are disagreeable to all."

The above is directly aimed at recent articles by Isaac Marcossan in The Saturday Evening Post, and the British writer Rosita Forbes, as well as numerous lesser Americans who write articles on subjects with which they are not familiar. John White of the New York Times and Chicago Daily News has been the worst offender.

*Stearns*

From M.A. Argentina

Report No. 4533

March 22, 1932.

AMERICAN EMBASSY  
OFFICE OF THE MILITARY ATTACHE.  
BUENOS AIRES, ARGENTINA.

May 28th, 1929

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JUN 25 2657-2-92 1929  
WAR DEPARTMENT

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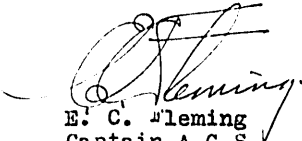
Subject: President Irigoyen.

To: A. C. of S., G-2.

RECEIVED G/2 W. D. JUN 20 1929

1. We have been reliably informed that the President of the Argentine Republic, Mr. Irigoyen, is in very bad health and has recently suffered several strokes which have incapacitated him for the duties of his office for several days at the time. We are told that the majority of his medical advisers seem to think that his life is a matter of months; but one or two others say he might live for more than a year.

2. The above information was given our informant personally by the Vice President.

  
E. C. Fleming  
Captain, A.G.S.  
Military Attaché.

4-1 2657-L-93 1929

2-1-1929

3520

ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Freedom of Speech and Action

SEP 3 1929

On the inauguration of the exposition of Argentine Textiles on June 12th, Dr. Daniel Carles, President of the "Liga Patriotica Argentina," opened the exposition with a speech, part of which was a criticism of the present National Administration, as follows:-

"The Minister of Public Instruction refused to permit the exposition to be held in the National Fine Arts Building and Dr. Carles in his criticism concerning the refusal stated 'that the Argentine civilization continued interrupted by the conflict waged by the virtues of the people against the unprogressive whims of the authorities.'"

"He further spoke of the National Administration as follows:

"They climbed to power through the candidness of National tolerance" after which he outlined the stately views of the highest type of Argentine whose plans had been stilted.

"He asked" "What have they done?" "What are the men doing in the Administration foolishly called repressive?" "The hopes of the multitude more anxious for well being and eager for harmony saw themselves cuddled by a Government of hate to produce the bitterness of misery and the discouragement of unemployment confusing in the same instance with rebelliousness. "Where are they going?"

"Never was there a more infamous or reproachful insult, never were the constitutional guarantees more disregarded. There is no record of an administration more stagnant or any epoch in which iniquity was more audacious owing to lack of warning. It is reaching the limit of tolerance in order to fulfill the law of rebellion, a law which in Argentina consists in the duty imposed upon all citizens to arm themselves for the triumphal defense of their country."

On the 15th of July Dr. Alexander Danilovich, a lawyer in Buenos Aires, registered a formal charge of sedition and incitement to rebellion against Dr. Carles on account of the above speech. The complaint was received in the Federal Courts.

On August 9th the Federal Judge, Dr. Jantus ordered the proceedings which had been raised against Dr. Carles to be withdrawn, there being nothing in the President's discourse to motive the accusation made. The Liga Patriotica was declared not guilty of what would appear to be, for it, a repugnant and utterly abhorrent offence, inciting to rebellion against lawfully constituted authority.

From: I.A. Argentina No. 4031

September 3rd, 1929

MEMORANDUM (Political)

Subject: Freedom of Speech Institution.

(Continued)

When Dr. Ortiz Pereyra, the Attorney General for the accused, was informed of the decision he recalled the charge against Dr. Carles and stated that before a decision should have been reached the files and books of the institution should have been revised.

On the same date in accordance with resolutions of the Government Committee the President of the Liga Patriótica called on the Federal Court and spontaneously made all explanations indicated in the charge against him. The Liga Patriótica through Dr. Carles offered the Federal Court the free access to all the archives, files and documents of the institution without omitting all the antecedents and purposes realized or attributed to the organization during the ten years of its existence and added that they had nothing to hide.

He indicated that in the periodical meetings of the governing committee to deal on the situation of the country, the state of the public spirit and the march of the brigades, he publicly expressed his opinion on the necessities of the country for the well being of its people. He also stated that all the newspapers published what is said and decided upon in these meetings, so that all the world may know what the Liga thinks and does.

He then stated that as the Liga has proceeded in a decisive and sincere manner it attracted followers and made enemies who constantly threatened the existence of the institution. He added that the delegates in the capital and in all the country will continue as they have done until now, making speeches expression their doctrine, spreading ideals directing manifestations to instruct the people in the duties of fiscalizing the actions of the Government which concerns all the citizens of a constituted country. He stated also that the Liga lacks regulations and statutes to explain the kind of an institution it is and the character of its members. Lastly he recalled that when called upon in a similar case by the justice of peace of the locality, the president of a rural brigade, to explain how far reaching was a resolution of the Board of Directors, the man answered: "The Liga Patriótica has no more regulations than those of the National Constitution and no other standard than that of the Gospel of Christ".

"Thus we shall continue", explained Dr. Carles finishing his dissertation, "until destiny orders that the men of the Liga undertake the Government of the Nation to realize what the people of Argentine desire and are capable of."

On August 15th, the Federal Judge granted the appeal before the Federal Court, made by Dr. Ortiz Pereyra, the Attorney General. On August 24th this was returned as

From: B.A. Argentina. Report No. 4031 September 3rd, 1929

ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Freedom of Speech and Action.

(Continued)

"desisted accusation" the Judge deciding that no convincing proof could be detected.

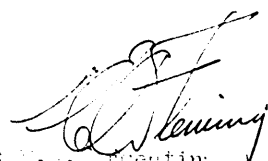
It is rumored that President Illigoyen due to his previous friendship with Dr. Carlos had the charges quashed.

Dr. Carlos is one of the original organizers of the "Liga Patriótica Argentina" and has been President since its organization. He is very popular with all members of the League and with the officers of the Army many of whom belong to the League.

There are at present over 50,000 members in the city of Buenos Aires alone who are indifferently armed while there are brigades in every city, province and territory within the nation. They have a mobilization plan and claim that they can put four armed men on every corner of Buenos Aires in two hours.

The membership of the Liga amounts to 300,000 divided up into 2600 Brigades. The headquarters of the organization is in the Federal Capital. Among their many activities they maintain schools for education and patriotism in all large factories.

Sources: Daily Newspapers  
Information obtained from Army officers.



From: R.A. Argentina. Report No. 4031 September 3rd, 1929

G-2 Report

4-1 2657-2-94  
3850 1

ARGENTINA(Political)

Subject: Foreign Relations.

RECEIVED 6/2 W. B. 1929

During the past week it has been authoritatively reported that the Banco de la Nación and the Banco de la Provincia have been refusing loans to individuals requiring credit where the money was to be spent in the United States.

While Sr. Carlos J. Botto, President of the Banco de la Nación has been inaccessible to reporters wishing to confirm this report for publication, it nevertheless has come to us very authoritatively.

Sr. Botto is pro British and anti American, but he has always been considered an intelligent banker so that the importance attached to these refusals, is that such a childish tactic on the part of a banker must have been dictated from a higher source and is probably the result of conversations between Lord D'Abernon and the British Economic Mission, with the President of the Republic.

The result, of course, of the refusal was that the parties involved came to the American banks where, having excellent security, the loans were readily given. The only effect it had was, that if the bank of the Nation is to continue such a policy, it will simply loose the business where the credit is excellent and retain only that business where the credit is doubtful. It has had a further effect of making the individuals seeking loans wrathful with their Government for such ridiculous procedure and angry with the result of the British Mission.

One loan was for \$250,000 money of the Nation for the purchase of American automobiles. The loan was granted by the City National Bank and the Vice President here informed me personally of the circumstances under which the loan was made citing the refusal of the Banco de la Nación.

*Stening*  
From: M.A. Argentina Report No. 4037 September 30, 1929

ARGENTINA (Political).

Subject: Foreign Relations.

(a) Status of Relations with Foreign Countries.

The following is the translation of an editorial published on October 3rd, in the daily newspaper "La Nacion":

"Relations with the United States".

"It is highly gratifying to us to observe the echoes of the criticisms made in this paper against the attitude of the Argentine Government towards the United States. The articles that appeared recently in "La Nacion", transmitted over the cable and reproduced in some of the foremost New York newspapers, have given rise to much eloquent comment, from the declaration publicly made by the Secretary of State, Mr. Stimson, to the editorial comment of authorized organs of American public opinion.

In all these manifestations - and this is the principal motive for the satisfaction we feel - there appears the unmistakable desire that the relations between the two countries shall be maintained with full cordiality, and that the ties of traditional amity that bind the United States with Argentina shall be strengthened rather than weakened. Those commenting upon the matter in the United States understand, as we do, that nothing but ties of solidarity and affection - the outcome of a similarity of regime and political ideals - can exist between these two nations. We cherish the belief that our words will not have been uttered in vain, and that they will tend towards the subsistence of this fraternal feeling. It is also to be hoped that our Government will proceed with more respect for diplomatic procedure and with a more profound comprehension of policy that reflects true Argentine sentiments and interests.

In the meantime, we do not wish to pass over in silence the erroneous insinuation with which the "Washington Star" closes its article on this subject. After giving a summary of the events leading to the present situation in the diplomatic terrain, between the United States and our country, the "Washington Star" arrives at the following conclusion:-

"It is evident that on the west side of South America, within the opulent republic which is one of our best clients there a situation is arising which calls for urgent attention on the part of Washington. It looks as if the hand of a Dwight Morrow is needed. Why not send the Mexican-American peacemaker to Buenos Aires?"

Here in our opinion, is a totally erroneous conception and solution of the difficulty. Mr. Morrow is a most estimable diplomat, and one worthy of unstinted praise. His work in Mexico has been crowned with success, as all our readers know. But nothing for the moment can induce us to believe that the United States needs to change its Argentine representation. The situation in Mexico was

From: M.A. Argentina

Report No. 5050 October 29, 1929

## ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Foreign Relations.

(a) Status of Relations with Foreign Countries.

entirely different; nothing in Argentina warrants sending a "peacemaker" to consolidate harmonious relations between Argentina and the United States.

The Washington Government is most worthily represented in Buenos Aires, Mr. Bliss, the present Ambassador, is not merely persona grata to us in the official sense of the word, he is so in every sense. In Argentina, we justly appreciate his diplomatic endowments, his respect for our country, his intelligence and good sense, his pleasant personality, his legitimate desire to fulfil the duties for which he was sent here. The Washington Government may of course appoint or transfer its representative as it chooses, and we have no doubt that its actions are prompted by prudence and wisdom. But the "Washington Star" is entirely wrong in thinking that a solution can be found in the change it suggests. For the intensification of friendship between the United States and Argentina, the only essential is for our Government to understand that the Argentine people does not wish to adopt an absurd attitude of antagonism towards the northern republic. All that is required - and it is certainly a most urgent requirement - is to send a good Ambassador to Washington; adopt a sensible point of view in its foreign policy, and put an end to the lack of common sense that has hitherto characterised its diplomatic procedure."

*W. H. Fleming*  
From: M.A. Argentina

Report No. 5050<sup>40</sup> October 29, 1929

CHILE: Political (XX)

Subject: Chile - U.S.A. - Argentina - relations.  
Chilean visit of U. S. Ambassador to Argentina.

1. It may be of some interest to report (and contrast) a sarcastic article published on the editorial page of "El Mercurio" of Nov. 5, 1929. The article was headed "New York Chronicles" and signed "John Blue." It juxtaposes somewhat offensively the fact that Secretary Stimson announced that no representative could be sent from the U.S. to the Buenos Aires Congress of Penal Legislation because of lack of funds, with the expenses of the recent "blindfolded" flight of Lieut. Doolittle. It rehearses the so-called friction between the U.S. and Argentina, stressing these points: the U.S. deliberately withdrew its Ambassador from Argentina; Argentina has exercised great hesitancy in adhering to the Kellogg Pact and has censured the Monroe Doctrine; that the attacks on President Irigoyen, made by "La Nacion" of Buenos Aires, have been widely published in the U. S. It strongly intimates that the policy of the U.S. in Argentina is a "blindfolded" one and that the proposed tariff modifications by the U.S. represent only a single phase of that attitude which, like Lieut. Doolittle's flight under great obstacles, is still considered to be a success.

2. In contrast with the prominence given the above mentioned article on the editorial page of "El Mercurio", the same newsorgan in its issue of January 15, 1930, printed the following article on its front page:-

"The Ambassador of the United States in Argentina, Hon. Bliss, yesterday morning visited the Ministry of Foreign Relations (of Chile), accompanied by Hon. Julius Lay, Chargé d'Affaires of his country before our Government.  
"Shortly after, he called at the home of our President where he was presented to Señor Ibañez by the Introducer of Diplomats, Don Claudio Vicuña Viel.

"Later, the distinguished guest visited the Minister of Interior, Don Enrique Bermúdez, to whom he gave thanks for the great attention shown him whilst in Chile.

"Señor Lay gave a banquet at the Palace of the American Embassy in honor of Mr. Bliss. Present at this affair were the following specially invited persons: Minister of the Interior Don Enrique Bermúdez; Ambassador of Argentina to Chile, Federico Quintana and wife; Ambassador from Peru to Chile, Señor Elguera; Minister of Great Britain, Señor Clark Kerr and wife; Sub-Secretary of Foreign Relations, Nicolás Novoa and wife; Introducer of Diplomats, Don Claudio Vicuña and wife; Captain Edmond Fleming, U.S. Military Attaché to Argentina; Mr. Hallahan; Commander Irving Mayfield, and Mr. W. S. Greene."

This front page write-up represents the general attitude of the Santiago Press in connection with this short visit of Ambassador Bliss in such a way as to perhaps indicate that the relatively outspoken "El Mercurio" is either hardpressed for front page news, or is inconsistently inclined to the belief that the United States is well represented in Argentina by a diplomat not selected by the "blindfolded" test. The Chilean Government rather surprisingly gave Mr. Bliss a private railway car at the frontier, and made much in an official sense of a rather unimportant visit. The Ambassador, on his way to the U. S. for what is reported as a leave of absence, arrived in Santiago Jan. 13th and left Valparaíso on Jan. 15th.

*Ralph H. Wooten*  
RALPH H. WOOTEN,  
Capt., A.C., (G.S.),  
Military Attaché.

From: M. A., Chile.

Report No. 373.

Date: Jan. 16, 1930;

3110

3110

1929

ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Present Executive and Cabinet.

(b) Present Cabinet.

A situation of political significance was developed by an incident of discipline during the current week in the office of the Minister of War. While the Press merely carried an announcement of the disciplinary action taken we have been able to ascertain through friends in the office of the Minister of War what actually took place.

It seems that the Minister of War has been collecting data on the Armaments Purchasing Mission now in Europe to make a full report to the President of the Republic. It would seem from the circumstances that such a report has been called for by the Chief Executive. The collection of this data has been assigned to various officers in the office of the Minister of War, among them one Lieut. Colonel Armando Verdaguer. The Minister of War had instructed these officers that all such reports relative to this Mission were to be reserved for him personally, so that he could make a consolidated report to the President of the Republic. The particular report in question was evidently of great importance, and though we have not been able to learn its contents it referred to the subject of armaments. Colonel Verdaguer thinking to gain an advantage with the President passed the report on direct, without presenting it to the Minister of War.

When the matter was brought to the attention of General Louis J. Dellepiane he placed the officer under arrest in his quarters for a period of eight days (summary punishments of this sort are customary and legal). Colonel Verdaguer requested by letter that he be released from the office of the Minister of War, and assigned to duty at the Escuela Superior de Guerra, but in addition, and without authority of his Chief, he made personal representation to the President of the Republic complaining of the arrest which had been imposed upon him. When the Minister of War heard of this he added fifteen days close confinement in the Cuartel of the 3rd Infantry to the arrest of Colonel Verdaguer, and he was not to be permitted to see anyone including his brother officers, his friends, or his family. The situation was that his status would be, in our terms, awaiting trial.

The President of the Republic, however, being advised of the action taken by the Minister of War, wiped out both actions and set Colonel Verdaguer at liberty. This brought matters to a crisis, and we are informed that General Dellepiane, the Minister of War, immediately went to the President and tendered his resignation for interference with the discipline of his Department. It is believed that the President might have accepted this except for the fact that the Minister of the Interior, Dr. Elpidio Gonzalez, and the Minister of Justice, Dr. Juan De la Campa, informed the President that they would support General Dellepiane and resign also. We are informed that the President apologized for

From: M.A. Argentina      Report No. 4081      December 12, 1929

G-8 Report

5110

ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Present Executive and Cabinet.

(b) Present Cabinet. (Cont'd)

his hasty action of which he said he did not realize the importance, and made other necessary friends requesting his Minister to continue in office.

While General Dellegiane did not embarrass the Chief Executive by insisting upon the arrest we are given to understand that the action of Colonel Verdagner has made him unpopular, not only with his Chief, but with the file of the Army as a whole, and our informant, who is an officer, says it would be better for the Colonel if he were not in the Army at all from now on.

The importance of this report is the support given the Minister of War by the other Ministers, and the signs of continued agitation within the Cabinet, reports of which are constantly prevalent.

*Stening*  
From: M.A. Argentina

Report No.4081

December 12, 1929.

G-2 Report

5110

## ARGENTINA (Political)

27

Subject: Present Executive and Cabinet.

(a) Present Executive.

On Thursday, April 10th, President Hoover and President Irigoyen spoke by telephone. Present at this ceremony, were the President, the Minister of Foreign Relations Horacio B. Oyhanarte, the President's Secretary Senor Arturo Benavidez, Colonel W. F. Repp, Vice-President of the International Telephone & Telegraph Company, and Captain Logan Rock, Secretary of the same Company.

The conditions prevailing before and during this conversation were described as pitiful. The President himself was terrified of the instrument, having only spoken three or four times during his life, and, as he stated himself, the last time was in 1907. While his physical condition was described as apparently excellent his mental faculties were clearly very feeble. There were a great many delays and interruptions caused by the President's failure to start, and by him repeatedly laying down the paper from which he was reading or the telephone, so that Dr. Oyhanarte was forced to hold the paper while Senor Benavidez held the telephone. Other signs of failing mentality were, that, though this programme had been rehearsed several times in the previous two or three days, when the time came to talk the President showed great concern because Mr. Hoover could not understand Spanish, and he could not understand English. It was, therefore, necessary to very carefully explain to him, that Mr. Hoover had before him a translation of his speech similar to the copy of Mr. Hoover's speech that he had before him.

When the prepared conversations were terminated, and Mr. Hoover informed the operator, that he was at the orders of President Irigoyen and wished to know if Sr. Irigoyen had anything further to say, Sr. Irigoyen became greatly excited and said that if he said something probably Mr. Hoover would say something and that this would go on interminably and that it would soon be five o' clock. Dr. Oyhanarte then had to step into the breach and make a graceful reply to Mr. Hoover's courteous message, with which the President then most emphatically agreed.

We have been definitely informed that the above inaugural speech of President Irigoyen was written by Dr. Oyhanarte, and that it was intentionally as dis-courteous as diplomatic relations would permit. We are also informed that Dr. Oyhanarte did this with a view of possible advantages to himself. However, it is not clear to us at this time what advantages he could hope for from such an action. While the subject was very vague, and seemingly without point, the accepted interpretation here is that we, the United States, are a material people only, having little time for the finer thoughts of life,

From: M.A. Argentina Report No. 4138 April 14, 1930

## ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Present Executive and Cabinet.

(a) Present Executive. (Cont'd)

and that while this telephone communication is a marvellous thing and a great scientific and commercial advance on our part, we would do well to spend less time on such material things, and devote more time to our fellow men, or as one gentleman expressed it "he was trying to say that Nicaragua and Haiti would much prefer their freedom to an excellent telephone system". It is believed that the speech as originally written was even more bitter and more discourteous, but our Charge d'Affaires informed us that half a page, which he did not have an opportunity to see was deleted from the original. 2007-1-9/✓

With all the better class of people and the better newspapers, such as "La Prensa", "La Nacion", etc., the subject is regarded as lamentable (our Report No.4142), but the Socialistic papers, such as the "La Vanguardia" pounced upon it as a great reply to the imperialistic United States, taking the view that President Irigoyen, who was of the people, was still for the people against all forms of political or commercial invasion. The Administration papers simply supported the speech without much comment. It was clearly written for the home consumption of the masses.

Our Charge d'Affaires had great difficulty in securing a copy of this speech, and was repeatedly put off by various untruths and subterfuges, until the last minute or about 2 o'clock of the afternoon on which the two Presidents talked. He stated that those with whom he had to deal in the Foreign Office were as ill-mannered as they dared to be, but finally asked him if he desired to be present at the conversation. After reading the text of Sr.Irigoyen's speech he found it inconvenient to attend.

Our Charge d'Affaires also told us that he thought it was a great mistake on the part of the International Telephone & Telegraph Company to have had the inauguration of the three countries, Argentina, Chile and Uruguay, on the same day and at the same time. While from a mechanical standpoint it was a great achievement, and an impressive ceremony to be able to switch instantaneously over thousands of miles of intervening space from one Country to another, it gave the very bad impression, as expressed by several politicians here, of the Presidents of South American Republics reciting their lesson to Mr.Hoover. This was especially so as they were not invited to speak to each other. We are told that this view was given to Sr.Irigoyen by several of his supporters, and being already tremendously nervous over the coming

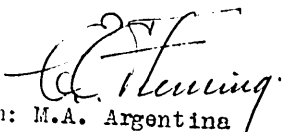
## ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Present Executive and Cabinet.

(a) Present Executive. (Cont'd)

conversation he was probably glad to grasp this viewpoint as an excuse for not talking at the time. Our Charge d'Affaires said that he had not been interviewed by the officials of the International Telephone and Telegraph Company, as to their plans for this inauguration before hand, or he would have advised them against the manner in which it was conducted.

It is true that President Irigoyen might have been able to talk at the hour appointed on the day of the inauguration, but it is also true that on the previous day he was very ill having actually fainted three times in his office at the Casa Rosada, and it was at the advice of his Doctors that he postponed the conversation. It is not believed that the long delay in bringing about the above telephone conversation between the two Presidents was because of the animosity President Irigoyen is credited with entertaining towards the United States, but by the combination of circumstances, - his failing mentality, his failing health, and his actual terror of using the telephone.

  
From: M.A. Argentina

Report No. 4139

April 14, 1930

## ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Present Executive and Cabinet

(a) Present Executive. RECEIVED 6/2 W. D. MAIL 5-1930

The following is the translation of an editorial published in one of the leading newspapers in Buenos Aires, "La Prensa" on April 14th:

## HOW ARGENTINA IS REGARDED ABROAD.

The circumstances that the Argentine President failed to participate in the inauguration ceremonies of the radio-telephone service between the United States and various South American republics, which was carried out a few days ago, caused quite an impression in Washington and New York in spite of the fact the the Argentine Executive excused his absence on the grounds of illness.

It will be remembered that on the occasion in question, verbal messages of courtesy were exchanged between the Presidents of the United States Chile and Uruguay.

The excuse given was a perfectly valid one, as has been confirmed by the telephonic conversation that eventually took place a few days later between Messrs. Irigoyen and Hoover. So that while the attitude of the Argentine President perforce gave birth to a number of comments to the effect that his Excellency does not harbour very friendly sentiments towards the United States, the whole episode in itself was instrumental in bringing to the fore the fact that the indifference felt by the Argentine Government towards the great northern republic cannot but produce disagreeable consequences, and at the same time maintain an atmosphere of uncertainty.

The Argentine Government takes no steps to fill the post of Ambassador to Washington, now vacant for about a year and three months. True, the present authorities of this country have made no diplomatic appointment whatsoever in their year and a half of office; but neither the Government nor the people of the United States are interested in delving into the whims and inconsistencies of the authorities of other countries with whom they maintain relations. There is also the aggravating circumstances that the last Ambassador to Washington was placed "in commission" which is tantamount to signifying that the vacancy was brought about by the Argentine Chancellery. This is an unusual circumstance in diplomatic circles and nothing has transpired within the last eight months to dissipate the impression caused thereby.

As we have said on former occasions those now in power in Argentina have no right to jeopardise the good relations that we have ever cultivated with the United States of America since that Republic recognised the independence of

From: M.A. Argentina. Report No. 4142 April 15th, 1930

## ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Present Executive and Cabinet

(a) Present Executive. (Cont'd)

the United Provinces of the River Plate. That is over a century ago, and during the whole of the intervening period no interruption has occurred in the relations of the two Governments and of the two peoples. But just at present these two Governments, thanks to unjustifiable commissions on the part of the Argentine authorities, maintain merely courteous diplomatic relations. There is no Argentine Embassy at Washington and the diplomatic representative of the United States to Buenos Aires happens to be in his own country. Both Embassies; therefore, are in charge of secondary officials, who have nothing to do but attend to mere formalities. If they do otherwise the public has not been informed.

While this inactivity is going on in diplomatic circles, however, the other relations between the two republics continue to be more active than ever. Trade between the two nations have increased perceptibly; there is plenty of American capital for the Argentine market; business men, professionals, experts, men of letters and press representatives, professors, etc., all are constantly engaged in a species of commercial, technical and intellectual interchange between the two countries. People of all social classes in Argentina consume American manufactured products. The cinema industry finds an excellent clientele in the Argentine. On the other hand, Argentines of the cultured and moneyed class, and even those of more humble position, are in continual contact with progress of the United States in its various and magnificent activities. There is no lack of cordiality and good feeling on the part of the people of either nation towards the other!

It is only the Argentine Government that has assumed an attitude of distrust, a distrust it takes little pains to conceal, so that the prestige of our country abroad is affected. This in turn gives rise to the formation of an atmosphere of uncertainty among the inhabitants of friendly nations, which, while not precisely dangerous are of a perturbing nature.

It may therefore be safely affirmed that, in the telephonic conversations that took place on Wednesday last between the two Presidents, there was really nothing to talk about. That no doubt is why President Irigoyen gave vent to his feelings on the subject in an utterance which might be termed as vaguely prophetic and irrelevant.

Mr. Hoover who spoke first, limited his conversation in recalling his visit to South America while President elect of the United States mentioning that the

From: M.A. Argentina. Report No. 4142 April 15, 1930

## ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Present Executive and Cabinet.

(a) Present Executive (Cont'd)

The United States Embassy in Buenos Aires had informed him of the prosperity and incessant social progress achieved by Argentina. It was of course not possible for him without treading on very delicate ground to employ the usual commonplaces that might be expected on such an occasion as to the "cordiality of relations between the two Governments", for these relations, practically speaking do not exist since there is no Argentine Embassy at Washington and no United States Ambassador at Buenos Aires.

Delicate as the ground might be, therefore, it was even more so for President Irigoyen, since he was the only man responsible for the situation. His message was a compendium of vagueness. If he meant anything by the affirmation of his "evangelical beliefs that man must be sacred to man and peoples to peoples", his remark was inopportune and out of place.

If the Argentine President sincerely believes that his position in the world as director of the foreign affairs of a great American people imposes upon him the duty of defending the principles of equality and mutual respect among all the nations of the earth, then he must agree with us that the only way to comply with such a mission is to cultivate the friendship of all, through the regular diplomatic channels, which, of course would give Argentina a place on the map in the international concert of nations. Such high intentions, if they do exist in the minds of our public men, will not become realities if only indulged in upon the occasion of inaugural addresses such as the present.



From: M.A. Argentina. Report No. 4142

April 15, 1930

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G-2 Report

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ARGENTINA (Political).

Subject: Local Governments (States, Provinces or Departments).

RECEIVED G-2 W. D. JUNE 1930

(a) Relationship to Central Governments.

The following is an editorial published in the daily newspaper "La Nacion" on April 29th, after a statement made by President of the Republic to the effect that he would send an interventor to take over the Government of the Province of Entre Rios:

"If the Executive Power carries out its proposal to intervene the Province of Entre Rios it would push to extremes the present abnormal political situation. Such a measure would have to be considered from the double viewpoint of its origin and of the authority rightly empowered to take such a step. Any impartial student of the nation's institutional affairs must needs feel surprised over the necessity of questioning, at this late date, the illegality of the contemplated step, in view of the considerable period that has elapsed since the Constitution was brought into force.

Unfortunately, however, there appears to exist a definite desire on the part of the National Executive to override the authorities now governing the Province of Entre Rios, although there is no valid reason for taking such a drastic step. Both the juridical and municipal regimes of the province are being carried out normally; the educational institutions are flourishing as much as ever, while it is impossible to invoke, as a reason, the Constitutional clause regarding the "republican form of government", for that form of government is being obeyed to the letter. Political liberty is exercised freely in Entre Rios, as is proved by the last elections, in which the Irigoyenist Party obtained the majority, though that majority was a slight one. Neither were there any complaints to be heard before or after the elections. There were no sequestrations of enrolment books, nor were the scandalous proceedings of San Juan and Mendoza - now under the heel of national intervention - heard of during the election period. Consequently, no logical reason can be given for authorizing a federal invasion of the domains of Entre Rios, which is living and carrying out its civic and other duties as a normal, progressive Argentine province should do.

The other aspect of the matter to which serious objection must be taken is the authority of the Executive to decree such intervention at all. By intervening in the provinces on its own behalf, without permission of Congress, it has simply overstepped its functions.

When Constitutional precepts governing these interventions are carefully studied, the inevitable conclusion must be made that Congress and Congress alone is

From: M.A.Argentina

Report No.4152

May 6, 1930

## ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Local Government (States, Provinces or Departments).

(a) Relationship to Central Government. (Cont'd)

empowered to decree interventions in the provinces, although the Minister of the Interior has qualified the measure as an "extraordinary resource". If the Chamber of Deputies represents the people and the Senate acts on behalf of the Provinces in the safeguarding of their Constitutional autonomy, then it is only logical to suppose that those two bodies, which in themselves form the country's Legislative Power, are the ones with the right and the responsibility to assume, temporarily in any case, the autonomy of the provinces; to deprive them of such autonomy for the purpose of putting wrongs right, and then returning them the autonomy granted by the Constitution. When such an emergency occurs, all the Executive Power may do is to act as collaborator, not as prime mover.

Viewed from purely Constitutional precepts, therefore, intervention in the Province of Entre Rios at the present moment would be nothing but an outrage on that province and its governors, for the simple reason that the executive, legislative, and judicial powers are functioning quite normally. The matter would be still grave, however, were the Government to issue such a decree while Congress is in session; and its attitude would have to be considered by both Houses, for it is a usurpation of attributes. And if Congress persisted in the conduct that it has hitherto observed, by remaining indifferent to these Governmental advances, it would but pave the way to fresh excesses. Congress would thus tacitly decree its own effacement, while at the same time conspiring against something not included in its jurisdiction, which is the country's constitutional regime, framed and utilised for the purpose of safeguarding public and individual liberty, as well as to guarantee the provinces their autonomy. That autonomy can only be waived in cases of an extraordinary nature, which come within the attributes of Congress to judge. "

The reports of the Government's intention to send a Federal Interventor to the Province of Entre Rios gave rise to such angry demonstrations, that serious trouble might have followed any action on the part of the President of the Republic, to carry out his intentions. For this reason, perhaps, the Chief Executive suddenly decided that the step would not be taken. It has been stated that instead, the Irigoyenist Party will undergo a complete reorganization in the Province of Entre Rios in the very near future with a view to bringing back to the fold those of its supporters who deserted on the eve of the March 2nd elections.

*Flaming*  
From: M.A. Argentina . Report No. 4152 May 6, 1930.

3-2 Report

ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Foreign Relations.

RECEIVED 6/2 W. O. JUL 13 1930

(a) Status of Relations with Foreign Countries.

ARGENTINA AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The following is an expression of the views held by one of Argentina's leading newspapers "La Prensa", on the subject of the quota:

"The Argentine press has won a Parliamentary battle in the United States, in a cause which, while strictly just, appeared almost impossible to bring to a successful issue owing to difficulty in being heard. The matter under discussion was the measure supported by a number of legislators, whereby the quota system was to be applied to all immigrants proceeding from Latin-American countries.

Lacking any definite basis or precedent to go upon, Mr. Johnson, in a project which appeared to count with the approval of the majority, took as his stand the immigration figures from Latin-America during 1923-29, with the exception of Mexico, since it was never intended to include Mexicans in the measure. It was found that during this period, 375 Argentine immigrants entered United States territory, and it was felt that no objections could be raised to receiving a like amount each year. But during the same period, some 56,000 Mexicans officially controlled, crossed the frontier into the United States, while it is estimated that about the same number got over in clandestine fashion. Therefore, the sponsor of the measure must needs adopt a different criterion with regard to the latter nation. He proposed a gradual reduction of Mexican immigration, starting with 12,000 the first year and bringing it down to about 2,900 within three or four years.

This paper examined the whole matter from a general standpoint, and without making any reference to the Mexican question, which is a thing apart, expressed its views.

"La Prensa" maintained the view that it is incorrect to state that there really exists an "immigratory current" from the Latin-American countries to the States. The highest figure for last year corresponded to Venezuela, with 586 persons; then came Brazil 517; Argentina 375; Peru 315; Chile 230; Ecuador 129; and Uruguay, Paraguay and Bolivia with about 100 each. This is not a flow of immigrants, and falls into significance when compared with the population of 120,000,000 souls that the United States now holds. More than this, in most cases each Latin-American country receives greater numbers of North Americans each year than it sends up to that country, so that to apply a quota system of immigrants from Latin-America would be both unnecessary and absurd. There is no practical reason why the doors of the United States should be shut in any way to the haphazard few finding their way there from the Latin-American republics.

It was, however, quite evident, that the mere adoption of such a system was bound to have a pernicious moral effect upon the Pan-American ideal so intensely pursued,

From: H. A. Argentina Report No. 4175 June 13, 1930

## ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Foreign Relations.

(a) Status of Relations with Foreign Countries. (Cont'd)Argentina and the United States of America.

according to their own assertions, by the various Presidents of the United States, and so oft repeated by their distinguished delegates to the inter-continental conferences that have taken place from time to time. Our ideas on the subject have been expressed as follows: "As far as the Argentine Republic is concerned, any reform in the customs tariffs that shall tend to a reduction of our live stock and agricultural exports must inevitably cause more harm than restrictions placed upon immigration. Nevertheless, public opinion in this country would be more deeply affected by the news that one single Argentine workman had been rejected from entry into the United States, because the quota of 375 persons was full up, than it would be by the reduction of our exports to the United States by many million pesos a year."

Other organs of the native press also printed articles showing the errors that would result from an application of the Johnson measure with regard to Latin-America.

During the early part of April, the Senate at Washington had under consideration a similar project, brought forward by Senator Harris, and much more extreme than that fostered by Mr. Johnson, since the maximum quota for Argentina was to be fixed at 100 persons per year. This proposal was gone into on April 8, sponsored by Mr. Harris, who, however, in his speech before the Senate, made exclusive reference to Mexican immigration, although his project would include both Central and South America.

Finally, Senator Bingham held the floor, and he began by saying that if the project became law its immediate effect would be to increase unemployment, for it would affect the relations now existing between the two Americas to an extent difficult to foresee. "To one who has not travelled or resided in any of the Latin-American republics", he said, "it is difficult to appreciate how profoundly they are touched by a situation such as would now arise, rather than by the purely commercial aspects of relations in general. Latin-Americans often buy goods from persons because they like the persons themselves, irrespective of whether their prices are higher."

He also expressed the view that to approve of such a project would be tantamount to dealing a death-blow to Pan-American ideals. In short, he was of the opinion that the project before the Senate would constitute one of the greatest blunders ever brought to its consideration, and that its approval would seriously jeopardise the relations of the United States with the southern republics, as he was prepared to prove by reading excerpts from two or three editorials published in the leading South American dailies of Buenos Aires. "Buenos Aires", he said, "is the largest city of the southern hemisphere; it is the Paris of South America, and possesses a large, rich and active population. Argentina is a country that has made surprising progress in recent

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From: M. A. Argentina

Report No. 4175

June 13, 1930

MEMORANDUM (Political)

Subject: Foreign Relations.

(a) Status of Relations with Foreign Countries. (Cont'd)

Argentina and the United States of America.

years.' And, he added, the big families of Buenos Aires are circulated throughout the whole of South America, read with attention there and exercise a profound influence upon public opinion throughout the continent.

Mr. Bingham then read, in its entirety, translated into English, the two "La Prensa" editorials on the subject, which therefore appear on record in the United States "Congressional Record" of that day, April 10, 1930.

After reading these editorials, Mr. Bingham continued: "These citations must make us ponder, and prove all that I have previously said in regard to this project, viz: that the approval of a measure of this nature would be considered in a more serious light, by our southern neighbours, than a Customs barrier which might prejudice their commercial interests to the extent of several million dollars a year. It would also destroy the last vestiges of Pan-Americanism."

Without interruption, Senator Bingham expounded his theories on the subject for over two hours before the Senate which goes to show that his speech produced a certain amount of sensation as to the revelations disclosed regarding the spirit and public opinion of the inhabitants of Latin-America, in their attitude towards their great northern neighbour. He cited the opinion of Blaine, Root and Wilson regarding Pan-Americanism, demonstrated the importance of inter-continental commerce for the Union, and explained just how such immigratory restrictions would rebound upon the United States.

About one month afterwards, or on May 12th, Senator Harris, the author of the original restriction scheme, made a modification so as to limit the restriction to Mexican immigration alone, leaving the other republics of Central and South America free to enter the United States at will; and the modified scheme was approved by a huge majority.

It is not our place to judge the attitude assumed by the North American Senate in respect to the restrictions imposed upon Mexico. We have merely wished to show our readers how the devotion of the native Press organs to public questions of real interest may eventually bear their fruits in other lands. This little battle, waged in the field of ideas for a worthy cause of international character, is not the first gained by the Argentine Press, and we are confident that it will not be the last."

From: M. A. Argentina

Report No. 4175

June 13, 1930

1-2 Report

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ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Foreign Relations

RECEIVED 1930 OCT 10 1930

(a) Status of Relations with Foreign Countries.

The following foreign powers have recognized the Provisional Argentine Government on the dates set opposite their names, and in the order in which they are placed:

Chile	September 15th.
Germany	September 16th.
Paraguay	September 16th.
Sweden	September 16th.
Italy	September 16th.
The Vatican	September 16th.
Norway	September 16th.
Denmark	September 16th.
France	September 17th.
Spain	September 17th.
Austria	September 17th.
United States	September 18th.
Great Britain	September 18th.
Portugal	September 18th.
Poland	September 18th.
Holland	September 18th.
Uruguay	September 18th.
Colombia	September 18th.
Belgium	September 18th.
Japan	September 19th.
Switzerland	September 19th.
Hungary	September 19th.
Brazil	September 20th.
Ecuador	September 20th.
Czechoslovakia	September 20th.

The British Ambassador informed our Ambassador on the 16th of September that he had instructions to recognize the Provisional Government. Our Ambassador received similar instructions on the 17th of September.

The Note presented by the British Ambassador has been the subject of much comment and criticism as it was undoubtedly an attempt to hedge at Great Britain's delay in recognizing. It stated in substance that "there was no break in Anglo-Argentine Diplomatic relations when the Irigoyenist regime was deposed. It was, therefore, unnecessary for Great Britain to extend formal recognition to the Provisional Government". Of course, if this had been true there was no reason why such a Note should not have been delivered on the 7th or 8th of September instead of holding out for two weeks. The Note itself was dated September 16th.

While it is recognized that a great deal of dignity is sometimes lost in the haste to recognize a Government of this sort, the particular case in question was an exception to the rule, which could only be recognized by the people on the ground. In the particular case of the United States we not only had no friends in the former Government, but they had industriously and in a dishonest manner attempted to hinder and obstruct

From: M. A. Argentina Report No.4229 October 9, 1930

## ARGENTINA (Political)


Subject: Foreign Relations.

(a) Status of Relations with Foreign Countries (Cont'd)

all manner of American enterprises, while the Government which came into power was dignified, honest in its purposes and ready to assure all foreign capital of the safety of its investments, and in addition to all this sounded a distinctly friendly note for our Country. It is, therefore, generally believed that while Argentina was distinctly pleased and happy to have our recognition when it came, the opportunity of a master-stroke was lost because the impetus given by the recognition of Chile was quickly followed by ten other countries who recognized before we did, and eight the same day. Both the American businessmen and those Argentines, whose interests and capital are wrapped up in our industries here and at home, feel that a golden opportunity was lost.

On September 22nd, the entire Foreign Diplomatic Corps called at Government House to meet the President of the Provisional Government. The guests were received in the Foreign Office, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Ernesto Bosch, and Dr. Enrique Amaya, introducer of Ambassadors conducted the diplomats to the Salon Blanco where they were presented to General Uriburu in order of their seniority. The presentations were made in the following order: Embassies of the Holy See, Brazil, United States of America, France, Uruguay, Chile, Italy, Spain, and Great Britain; Legations of: Russia (Mr. Eugenio Stein, Minister from the former Imperial Government of Russia to Argentina, who is still accorded all the social rights of his position, this Government having no intercourse with Soviet Russia), Switzerland, Poland, Denmark, Ecuador, Holland, Japan, Cuba, Germany, Paraguay, Belgium, Finland, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Norway, Austria, Sweden, Bolivia, Santo Domingo, and Portugal.

On October 4th, the first real purely social reception held in the Casa Rosada since the days of President Alvear was given for the entire Diplomatic Corps. It was a brilliant affair free from all the restraint occasioned whenever the former Government was present. The reception was purely informal, His Excellency President and Senora Uriburu meeting and chatting with each of the guests as they arrived. There was an air of gaiety and good humour which showed clearly the effect the change of Government has had on the Diplomatic Corps.

  
From: H.A. Argentina

Report No. 4229 October 9, 1930.

G-2  
WHS

2657-1-100  
1930

September 8, 1930.

MEMORANDUM for Colonel Foy:

Subject: Telephonic Report from Military Attaché,  
Buenos Aires.

Captain Fleming, U. S. Military Attaché at Buenos Aires, transmitted the following information by long distance telephone at 9:45 A.M., Sept. 8, 1930:

1. The revolution in Argentina is all over and everything is quiet. To date, about 30 people have been killed and about 200 wounded. The new government is a strong one and the entire people and the army are behind it. It is felt by Americans in the Argentine that if the United States will promptly recognize the new government such action would make a most favorable impression in Argentina, especially if the United States can act before other countries, particularly Latin American countries.

Captain Fleming stated that the U. S. Ambassador to Argentina is submitting recommendations today to our State Department relative to the prompt recognition of the new Argentine government by the United States.

2. With reference to the series of polo games to be played between our Army polo team and the Argentine Army team, Captain Fleming stated that he had a conference yesterday with the Chairman of the Argentine Polo Association, and that the latter stated that the Argentine Polo Association had decided to go ahead with present arrangements for playing the games despite the revolution.

I reminded Captain Fleming that our polo team is scheduled to sail for Argentina on September 12th. Captain Fleming stated that he will immediately make further inquiry and that if a cable is not received from him by 3:00 P.M. today, all arrangements regarding the visit of our team will stand.

W. H. Simpson.  
Major, General Staff,  
Executive Officer, G-2.

2 Copies to Col Foy  
1 Copy to Dir. En -  
1 Copy for file  
W.H.S.

## ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Present Executive Cabinet

(b) Present Cabinet.

RECEIVED OCT 10 1930

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The political sensation of September 2nd. was the presentation of his resignation as Minister of War by General Luis J. Dellepiane. The formal note of resignation was accompanied by a separate letter addressed to the President of the Republic giving a very frank exposition of motives. The following is a free translation of this document:-

"Having been called upon to collaborate with Your Excellency in a Government which there was every reason to believe would encounter no greater obstacles than those inherent to its own functions, I who have never aspired to money or honours, thought that I might be an efficacious assistant, since from my early youth I have fought for the good of my country, defending the integrity of its frontiers in the degree of my modest capacity, and likewise taking a practical part in resisting disorder and injustice."

"It was only a few days after my appointment that I acquainted Your Excellency with my way of dealing with questions relating to discipline, and Your Excellency then, as on two subsequent occasions when more fundamental mutual misunderstandings occurred, while recognising the justice of my intentions, indicated your own manner of interpreting them, which, as a soldier I submitted to, although not without reflecting that the Army cannot be directed otherwise than by rectitude and justice."

"Against my will and contrary to my conscience I have accompanied Your Excellency in the countersigning of decrees conferring generous bounties, in the belief that thus a situation to which the country ought not to revert might be definitely liquidated, because my mind was inclined to adhere to those (benevolent) sentiments of Your Excellency who had been good enough to visit me on my bed of sickness, awaiting my recovery, and telling me that we were at one in the difficult and complicated task with which Your Excellency had to deal."

"I am not a politician and I am disgusted by the intrigues I have seen around me, the fundamental work of incapable and ambitious persons; but I am an observer. I have seen and still see around Your Excellency few loyal men and many interests. A tribunal should be appointed to analyse the lives and the resources of some of the men who are in opposition to Your Excellency and of others who, enjoying your confidence, cause Your Excellency, of whose so constantly expressed ideals and intentions I have the highest opinion, to be presented to the judgment of your fellow-citizens in a contemptuous manner; this is acquiring a force which nothing can arrest, unless Your Excellency will reflect for an instant and analyse the proportion of truth, (which I believe to be a very large one) in the angry protest which is now on every lip and which vibrates in many hearts."

From M.A. Argentina Report No. 4220 September 22, 1930

## ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Present Executive Cabinet (Cont'd)

(b) Present Cabinet.

"This long and difficult road with no respite other than the constant struggle for the public good, culminated some time ago in our different manners of facing the difficult problem."

"At the end, it was my desire, with a full knowledge of facts, (just as in the so-called Tragic Week when I spontaneously and of my own accord helped to save the Government of Your Excellency) once again to save the country and the army from the chaos which threatens them."

"I only lament that I have been unable to accomplish any constructive work. It has not been possible for me to perfect the organic laws of the army, or to equip it with the workshops indispensable to it, nor to modify administrative procedure, nor to maintain the spirit of discipline as I have practised it and maintained it, nor to investigate responsibilities in the matter of armaments, as public opinion and the evidence available to me demanded."

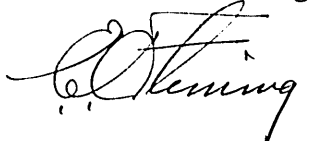
"All this, in my loyal opinion, induces my attitude as a patriot and a soldier, of which I once again give testimony to Your Excellency, to whom I reiterate the expression of my utmost respect and my highest esteem."

The resignation of the Minister of War was accepted by President Irigoyen on September 3rd., a decree to that effect being issued early in the afternoon. The decree made no comment and records no thanks. Another decree issued simultaneously appointed Sr. Elpidio Gonzalez, the Minister of Interior, to be Minister of War temporarily, that is to say, he held both portfolios.

Note: This report was delayed due to pressure of work in writing the report on the Revolution.

From M.A. Argentina

Report No. 4220 September 22, 1930.



G-2 Report

NOV 13

1930

WAR DEPARTMENT  
3020

ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Stability of Government.

(c) Radicalism.

RECEIVED OCT 16 1930

On the 14th of October, the Provisional Government of Argentina deported a group of nine persons, reputed to be Anarchists and labor agitators of the worst type, aboard the French Steamer CAMPANA, which en route to Europe called at Montevideo on October 15th. These men were under custody of one of the crew and an Argentine Police officer, who was instructed to prevent their landing in Montevideo. Upon the departure of the CAMPANA from Buenos Aires, some of the Argentine labor unions communicated the circumstances under which the men were travelling to a number of the Montevideo unions in an endeavor to obtain permission for them to land in Montevideo. The matter was placed in the hands of the Uruguayan Deputy, Dr. Lorenzo Carnelli (Leader of the Blancos Radicales or Carnellistas), who, accompanied by a party, appeared at the docks and informed the maritime authorities of what had occurred, at the same time taking legal steps for the men to land.

About three o'clock on the morning of October 16th, a boat slipped alongside the CAMPANA and three or four unknown stepped aboard. One of them seized the Argentine police officer by the throat, forcing him to remain quiet, while the others broke open the cabin doors and attempted to liberate the nine deportees. Four of these made a dash for freedom and succeeded in reaching the boat alongside, but by this time the policeman had wrenched himself free and given the alarm. The crew rushed to his assistance and prevented the escape of the other five, while the first four were captured by the maritime police upon stepping ashore. Salvadore Palmieri, one of the crew of the launch was also apprehended.

The Uruguayan police later ordered that the five men should remain aboard the vessel, and the four ashore in custody, promising that legal methods would be resorted to in an attempt to straighten out the situation. The judge who intervened later ordered the five men to be put ashore, and subsequently all nine were set at liberty, after particulars had been taken by the police. Palmieri was the only one to remain in custody on the charge of attempting to break open a cabin door and attacking the Argentine police officer. The other occupants of the launch managed to escape in the confusion. It is stated, however, that Simon Radowitzky, who now resides in Montevideo, formed one of the gang. The CAMPANA continued her journey to Europe, while the Argentine police officer returned to Buenos Aires to report to his superior.

On October 17th, seven more Communists deported from Buenos Aires arrived in Montevideo on the German steamer WURTEMBERG and were warmly welcomed by the Communists in Montevideo.

From: H.A. Argentina

Report No. 4235    October 24, 1930

## ARGENTINA (Political)


Subject: Stability of Government

(c) Radicalism. (Cont'd)

These deportations have been going on for several days.

While the Argentine Government is glad to rid itself of these undesirables, it would prefer to have them removed to a greater distance than Montevideo, as they can take out Uruguayan naturalization papers and easily return to Buenos Aires to renew their subversive activities. In this connection some time ago the Argentine Government, through its Embassy in Montevideo, requested this Government to furnish it with the names of all Russians who have obtained naturalization papers in Uruguay. According to the newspaper "Critica" these numbered 6,000. The American Legation in Uruguay was confidently informed by a member of the Argentine Embassy that in conformity with its request the Uruguayan Electoral Court (which issues the naturalization papers) furnishes the Embassy with a list of Russians who have taken out papers, every two months. However, as this list would be too old for prompt action on the part of the Argentine authorities, a member of the Electoral Court secretly and unofficially notifies the Embassy immediately upon the issue of naturalization papers to a Russian.

Source: American Legation, Montevideo, Uruguay.

  
From: M.A. Argentina

Report No. 4235    October 24, 1930

G-2 Report

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OFFICE OF THE  
MILITARY DIV.

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JAN 30 1936  
WAR DEPARTMENT

ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Radicalism  
Communism in Argentina.

RECEIVED 6/2 W. D. DEC 28 1935

Communism in Argentina has been carried on directly from Moscow for a period of years. However, funds and activities have decreased of late, due, it is thought, partly to a change in the Moscow policy and partly to firm suppression by the Uriburu Government in 1930.

In 1925-26, labor and anarchistic unrest was very pronounced. In 1927, a great many riots took place, which resulted in the deportation of a good number of mal-contented and sympathizers, as well as leaders and workers from Moscow.

The deportation of communists and other trouble makers has been practised and is still the modus operandi. Those deported are sent to the country from whence they came. Due to the fact that Argentina has to date not recognized the Soviet Union, native born Russians are deported "destination unknown." The result is that many deported communists leave Argentina for neighboring countries, later returning by crossing the frontiers at unguarded points; Vigilance over the long frontiers is impossible due to the smallness of the coast guard and immigration services.

Communism receives its general impetus direct from Moscow, having probably upwards of a hundred paid agents in the country, who receive annually approximately 100,000 pesos.

Communism here is centered in an erstwhile Communist Party, which professes to have as a membership approximately several thousand active members. It is not a recognized party in Argentine politics, although at times it has presented candidates and has polled a few scattering votes in provincial and municipal elections.

The "Concentraci6n Obrera" is perhaps the most prominent body affiliated with Moscow. This group broke away from the Communist Party some time ago with Senor Ponelon at its head.

This body is also said to be prominent in strikes in Argentina although 80 per cent of the strikes were not caused by Communist agitation, even though in almost every strike the hand of Moscow was identified in one form or another.

There are several other groups in Argentina affiliated or in sympathy with Communism, which are constantly changing both in name and organization.

1. Insurrexit This body works principally in the universities and in the secondary schools. Argentine students are good prospects for Communist ideas, at least as to finding a sympathetic ear; while to an extent Communism among young students may only be transitory, its importance should not be underestimated.
2. Federacion Universitaria This body is composed of intellectuals and university students.
3. Federacion Femenina Anti-Guerra

From: M.A. Argentina

Report No. 5245

Date: December 4, 1935

4. Liga Anti-Imperialista This organization is particularly active throughout Argentina, Uruguay and other South American countries, and holds international meetings.
5. Procor This is a body affiliated with Moscow and working in many countries under various names among the Jewish population. It began its work in connection with the Jewish colonization movement in Siberia. (Icor is the North American branch which operates in the United States).

The "United Front" is a recent world wide movement by Moscow to attempt to gain the sympathy and concerted action of opposition to governments and the support of discontented elements.

In Argentina the "United Front" movement has been particularly successful in securing the sympathy of certain sections of the Socialist Party.

The "United Front" has not been effective towards spreading Communism in the Army and Navy. The Navy lives afloat and apart from the life of the country. The Army, on the other hand, is much more closely connected with politics. There is very little Communism in the Army according to the careful study and vigilance of the Police Department. There have been isolated attempts to spread Communism in the ranks, but the police appear to have been particularly successful in spotting their man.

While a number of persons, particularly among the intellectuals, are interested in Moscow, the lack of unrest and the prosperous economic conditions existing in the country have made Argentina poor soil for the Communistic cause.

Source of Information: Personal Contacts.

*Frederick D. Sharp*  
 Frederick D. Sharp,  
 Captain, G.S.,  
 Military Attache

Enclosure:  
 Chart showing organized Communism,  
 Special Investigations Bureau, Dept. of Police.  
 Notes to accompany chart.

6.1 1980  
47687-1102  
Notes to accompany chart submitted with  
Report No. 5245, Index 3020-C

The South American Political Bureau whose headquarters are unknown, is directly connected with the Central Committee of each country. From the Central Committee are issued the instructions for each Regional Committee (of the Capital, of Cordoba, Santa Fe, etc.). District Committees (Flores, Patricios, etc.) are dependencies of the Regional Committees and are subdivided into Radius Committees (such as Floresta, Mataderos, Caballito in the district of Flores) on which the cells (celulas) are dependent. The latter or those which are also called Base Groups are known under three denominations: "street cells", "blockade cells" and "enterprise cells". The first functions at a certain point of a district. The second is created for the purpose of blockading some establishment wherein no communist organization exists among the personnel but is endeavoring to be formed, and the third, i.e., the "enterprise cell" is that whose activity begins when the cell is already constituted within the establishment. In the other Regional Committees, the subdivisions are made up in a more or less analogous manner.

There is an identical subdivision in the Red International Assistance (Socorro Rojo Internacional) and the Juvenil Communist Federation (Federacion Juvenil Comunista) each one working separately, although a delegate of the Party, generally a member of the Regional Committee thereof, is present at the meetings of the Regional or District Committees.

The Committee of Class Syndicate Unity (Comite de Unidad Sindical Clasista) completes the number of organisms directly pertaining to the Communist Party.

It is a dependency of the Latin American Syndicate Committee whose headquarters is established in Montevideo, and although it is subdivided into Regional Committees, its internal organization is different. It is formed by two large groups: "syndicates" and "syndicate oppositions". The first one is formed by such trade unions wherein the red organization is placed over other ideologies, and the "syndicate oppositions" are made up of trade unions in which bolsheviks are in the minority, such as railway, maritime workers, etc.

"Procor". This is a Jewish association which favors assistance to its fellow-citizens for the colonization of Biro-Bidjan-Siberia. It has financed the transport of contingents to that destination and it collects funds by subscription among its members or by means of entertainments organized on behalf of its countrymen. It exists in several countries under different names. Its internal subdivision is similar to that of the Communist Party and the study of its background (ever since its foundation), its congresses, its meetings, its commitment to the Red International Assistance, etc., characterize it as an organization of bolshevik tendency.

"Italian Antifascist Alliance". This organization was begun by Italian subjects politically contrary to the system prevailing in Italy. It was especially supported by all the masonic element in view of the persecutions to which the lodges were subject in that country; it has gradually been absorbed by the communist group which is directing it at present under cover.

"Insurrexit". Group formed by students, of powerful tendency towards the left, which has been won over to communism to a great extent owing to the intelligent activity displayed by the Juvenil

Federation on the one hand, and the Anti-Imperialistic League on the other. The latter, under its anti-war and anti-imperialistic aspect, maintains close contact with the organization of students, which in its organization is subdivided into regional committees, etc., in the communist manner.

"Committee of Laborers and Students against Fascism". This organization is inspired by the Communist Party and formed by a body of students supported by the Anti-Imperialist League. Organizations of different tendencies have been grouped therein in principle: Anarchical, syndicalist, socialist, etc., who frankly deserted upon discovering that at the bottom, this grouping was a scheme of the Communist Party.

"G.P.U.", is the political police of the soviet state which was formerly called C.H.E.C.A.-

Almost all the organizations mentioned in the chart, have their press organs, indicated in the white circle. However, there exists many other publications of marked communist tendency, such as "Reiter Stern" (of the Jewish speaking group) "Rabocha Pravda", (of the Russian, white Russian and Ukrainian speaking group), "Rytojus" (of the Lithuanian group), "Soviet", a new monthly publication of the Communist International, etc.

G-2 Report

ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Present Executive and Cabinet.

(b) Present Cabinet.

On October 23rd, 1930, Dr. Enrique Santamarina presented his resignation as Vice-President of the Provisional Government to General Uriburu.

The letter stated that when he had been asked to accept the post he had felt that as a loyal citizen of Argentina he could not refuse and his desire had been to accomplish everything within his power to assist the Provisional Government in its work.

Since then, however, he had found that the state of his health, which demanded complete rest, did not permit of his continuing to occupy a post which entailed such arduous duties.

In conclusion Dr. Santamarina expressed his loyalty to the Government and his regret that he was not able to carry on his work.

A Cabinet meeting was held on October 25th, after which it was resolved to accept the resignation of Sr. Enrique Santamarina, and a decree was issued accordingly, while at the same time tending thanks to the resigning Vice-President. Another decree was issued to the effect that, in the case of the death, illness or absence of the Provisional President of the Republic, which impedes him from exercising his office, his duties are to be undertaken by the Ministers, in the order determined by Art. 1 of Law No. 3727 dated October 11, 1898.

For the moment, nobody will be appointed to succeed Sr. Santamarina as Vice-President of the Provisional Government.

From our own investigation we are convinced that the reasons given for the resignation of Vice President Santamarina represent the true facts.

  
From: M.A. Argentina / Report No. 4242 November 6, 1930

G-2 Report

ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Political Parties and Groups:

(b) Analysis of Leading Parties and Groups

On October 1st., Dr. Eduardo Laurencena handed over the Governorship of the Province of Entre Rios to his successor, Dr. Herminio J. Quiros.

The change of government was the closing incident in what has come to be regarded as one of the most eventful periods in the history of the province, a period of events which may be said to have given the rest of the Argentine people courage to plan and execute the revolution of September 6th.

It may be recalled that the Irigoyenist regime first came to realise the strength of public opinion against it when the Entre Rios Senate expelled six Irigoyenist members for obstruction. The former Government was shaken to its foundation when Entre Rios showed its readiness to defend its autonomy with armed force if necessary.

Ex-Governor Laurencena's farewell Message to the Provincial Legislature referred extensively to the political situation in the country at the present time, and, in view of the rumoured possibility of his being a candidate for the Presidency of the Republic, his views are regarded just now as having special interest. From all my various contacts, I would say that Dr. Laurencena is at present the most popular of the probable candidates for the Presidency and the strongest character yet mentioned as a possibility. He is a man of the highest principles and as he has a large independent fortune, his devotion to his country is entirely unselfish.

His Message said in part: "Those of us who have the country's best interests at heart should incline with preference towards the alliance formed by a group of political parties. This is the best solution to Argentina's governmental problem, for it gives the possibility of the country being ruled by a Government absolutely aloof from everything pertaining to politics." Dr. Laurencena heartily applauded the Provisional Government's outspoken reply to the allegations that it was preparing to bring about Constitutional and electoral reform and it appears that he would adopt General Uriburu's governmental principles in the event of being sent to Government House.

Dr. Laurencena was born in Paraná on the 9th. of October, in 1885, and attended school at the National College of that city, later studying in the "Facultad de Derecho y Ciencias Sociales" of the University of Buenos Aires, where he qualified as a lawyer in 1910. He is the son of Dr. Miguel Laurencena, a notable politician and journalist who was elected governor of Entre Rios in 1914 and national deputy at various times, and María Beherechche.

From M.A.Argentina

Report No.4251

November 7,1930.

## ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Political Parties and Groups:

(b) Analysis of Leading Parties and Groups.

Dr. Laurencena dedicated himself to his profession as a lawyer, and excelling at the bar, he entered politics at an early stage in his career, being elected by the people of Entre Rios to the provincial legislature. He gave up his post when his father was elected governor of the Province in 1914.

During the period 1919 - 1922, he was Minister of Finance in the Province and the excellent quality of his work in that department made him famous both in and outside the province.


Later he also held the posts of Inspector General of Justice and member of the Directory of Pensions for Bank Employees.

Dr. Laurencena has also distinguished himself as a professor in the normal school of Paraná during the period 1915 - 19 lecturing on the History of Civilization. He is also known as a publicist having turned out several notable works.

He has always figured in the ranks of the party the "Union Civica Radical."

He is married to Doña Lola Forzana.

The first Message sent to the Legislature by Dr. Quiros, successor to Dr. Laurencena, promised a continuation of the good government the province enjoyed under the retiring Administration, the new Governor adding that one of the first tasks he would set himself to would be to work on behalf of the cause of Constitutional reform on the lines set forth in the Provisional Government's manifesto.



From M.A.Argentina

Report No.4251 November 7,1930.

G-2 Report

ARGENTINA (Population and Social)

WAR DEPARTMENT

Subject: Public Order and Safety

Circumstances in which martial law may be applied to criminals and others were set forth in a decree published on February 5th.

Signed by the Provisional President of the Republic and the Ministers of War and Marine, the main object of the decree is to set aside doubts that may at present exist in the minds of officers whose duty it is to apply it, and the public in general.

The decree is as follows:

"Article 1: Every person caught in the act of committing any of the following crimes shall suffer death;

(a) Attempts against the constituted Government or members of the public Powers;

(b) Attempts against the public security; causing explosions, incendiarism, or floods, thereby imperilling lives;

(c) Attempts against the army or against materials or means of communication of the army or navy;

(d) Attempts against means of transport or communication causing danger to life;

(e) Attempts against public order, by means of intimidation, tumults, or armed aggression;

(f) Aggression against or armed resistance to the public authority;

(g) Attempts against public services vital to the population;

(h) Murder committed by armed gangs, or by any means calculated to cause serious casualties or committed with a view to compelling persons to join in strikes, boycotts, etc.;

(i) Any other similarly serious crime.

"Article 2: Those who, by any means whatsoever, conspire for the purpose of committing any of the crimes enumerated above, or who attempt to provoke mutinies among the troops, shall be punished with imprisonment;

"Article 3: The same punishment shall be applied to civilians who appropriate and retain without authorization firearms belonging to the State, or who produce firearms in public places;

"Article 4: Application of the penalties established in this decree shall be by military tribunals, in accordance with the procedure for summary justice employed in the civil courts in times of peace, all verdicts to be submitted for confirmation to the Supreme Council of War and Marine;

From M.A. Argentina Report No. 4308 March 10, 1931

ART. VIII (Population and Social)

Subject: Public Order and Safety.

Article 5: Divisional commanders in the army, senior officers at naval bases, commanders of independent units, and the officer commanding on Martin Garcia island are authorized to constitute court-martial where necessary;

Article 6: Previous decrees relating to the application of martial law are hereby cancelled, and are substituted by the present decree;

Article 7: The police in every district in the Republic shall give this decree full publicity, affixing copies of it in public places."

*E. Fleming*

From U.S. Argentina

Report No. 4508

March 10, 1931

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G-2 Report

ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Foreign Relations.

(a) Status of relations with foreign countries.

Since the day of the revolution in Argentina and the ascent of the Provisional Government in office, relations with the neighboring country of Uruguay have not been all that could be desired. This feeling has been caused not only by Uruguay granting sanctuary to political refugees from Argentina, but by numerous other instances such as harbouring and refusing to deliver men guilty of criminal acts while in office, taking persons deported by the Argentine Government from vessels at Montevideo, and by allowing radio stations in Uruguay to be used for the broadcasting and the dissemination of propaganda which was anti-Uriburu and given out with the view of embarrassing the present Provincial Government of Argentina. Also in the cases of some of the so-called political refugees, among whom were several noted anarchists, they were permitted and, in some cases assisted, in re-entering Argentina at inconspicuous places and have been imprisoned a second time for endeavoring to incite trouble in labor organizations.

The beginning of this strained feeling commenced when the Ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs - Dr. Horacio B. Oyhanarte - became a refugee in Montevideo, Uruguay. The Uruguayan Ambassador in Buenos Aires - a man of very questionable moral character, reported as being addicted to the drug habit, and a close personal friend of Dr. Oyhanarte, not only gave him sanctuary in his Embassy, but assisted in his escape by motor-boat to the Uruguayan shore. He stated that because he considered Dr. Oyhanarte a personal friend and a friend of Uruguay, he had actually left his post at a time of uncertainty in order to see that Dr. Oyhanarte was received in Montevideo with all the honours due his position. The conduct of the Uruguayan Ambassador, of course, received considerable criticism from the Press. In view of the fact that Dr. Oyhanarte is guilty of misappropriation of public funds, among other charges, this action on the part of the Ambassador was considered highly undiplomatic.

Extradition of Dr. Oyhanarte was asked for by the Provisional Government but was not granted by Uruguay after the case had been taken up in court.

It is believed that a close contact was kept between Dr. Oyhanarte along with other associates of the former regime, and terrorists and others whose task it was to arouse public unrest and hamper the operations of the new authorities of the Argentine Republic. On the 15th of January, 1931, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Argentina received advices to the effect that the Government of the Uruguayan Republic had adopted severe measures to stop the activities of the refugee Argentine politicians.

As per our report No. 4292 of January 15th, it can be seen that the Provisional Government by issuing decrees to protect local industries has at the same time dealt a

## 1931. IIA (Political)

Subject: Foreign Relations.

(a) Status of relations with foreign countries.

blow to certain Uruguayan export trades. The latest decree of the Provisional Government (see our report No. 4307) placing a tax on all passages to foreign ports came at a moment when many Argentine families were preparing to spend Carnival week on the Uruguayan coast. This plus a resolution making it necessary for a vaccination certificate, signed by an Argentine doctor, being held by all passengers from Uruguay, and the refusal to allow any river steamers to arrive in the roads after 18:30 o'clock, dealt a severe blow to the Uruguayan tourist traffic.

It became apparent that the policy pursued by Argentina had aroused considerable anxiety in Uruguayan political circles, and the Uruguayan Government responded to Argentina's request for the internment of the refugees by expelling them from Montevideo. The request for internment was based on the agreement come to in 1876 between the two countries provided for the internment within a determined radius of the country affected of any political refugee engaged in subversive movements. The Argentine authorities accompanied their request with adequate proof of the activities of Dr. O'Gorman and the other refugee members of the Irigoyenist regime. The decree for the internment was signed by the President of the Uruguayan Republic on February 19, 1931. By the terms of the decree the refugees are given five days in which to arrange quarters outside a radius of one hundred kilometers from the bank of the River Plate and the Rio Uruguay and an equal distance from the Capital. The decree goes on to state that this measure has been taken at the request of the Argentine Foreign Office, and with a view to checking the subversive activities the fugitives have been engaged in from their refuge on the other side of the river; that the Argentine Government has proved to Uruguay's satisfaction that Dr. O'Gorman and his associates were conspiring against the peace of this country; that this being the case, it is the duty of the Uruguayan Government to maintain cordial diplomatic relations with other States, in view of which steps must be taken to check such subversive activities. Once the fugitives have moved to their new quarters, they must report to the local police, and under no circumstances must they move elsewhere without previously advising the authorities.

The interned fugitives are - Horacio B. Oyhanarte, Arturo Orzabal Quintana, Manuel J. Claps, Amable Gutierrez Diaz, Claudio Martinez Payva and Enrique Garcia Thomas.

There is reason to believe that with the assuming of office of the new President of Uruguay - Dr. Gabriel Terra - he will try to remove the cause of friction with the Argentine Republic and that the present Ambassador will be replaced.

C-2 Report

3850

URGENT (Political)

Subject: Foreign Relations.

(a) Status of relations with foreign countries.

Since we started this report, General Gervasio  
Toranzo has been added to the list of refugees in  
Uruguay, and Dr. Forcés Ojeda has been reported  
as moving on to Brazil.

From *Argentine* Argentina

Report No. 4312

March 13, 1931

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G-2 Report

ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Stability of Government.

(c) Radicalism

Acting on instructions from the Sub-Prefect of Police, Dr. David Griburu, the Political Section of the Investigation Department took the steps necessary to obtain a report on the proceedings at a congress of radicals deported from Argentina, held at Lavalleja, Uruguay.

The Chief of the Political Section, Comisario Inspector Leopoldo Lugones (junior), arranged a complete service of information which made available the knowledge of all the acts of that congress, including what was said in the secret conclave which followed the public meeting.

On July 14, in the city already named, and in the Hall of the Asamblea Representativa of that Department, with the sanction of the Municipal authorities, the congress met, being at first presided over by Dr. Salvador de Almenara, a Bolivian, born in Padilla, Province of Sucre. The vice-president was Jose Marrero, Spaniard, born in San Mateo, Canary Islands. Another member of the Congress was Amable Gutierrez Diez, also a Spaniard.

Besides these, there were present and spoke Jose Quinteros Luque, Pacifico Rodriguez Villar, Eugenio Narbone, Claudio Martinez Paiva and Arturo Olazabal Quintana. Luis Rios, ex-detective and confidential follower of the ex-chief of the Criminal Investigation Department, Eduardo I. Santiago, was also present.

It is worthy of note that the greatest part of those who attended the congress are fugitives from this country many being "wanted" by the police.

The first meeting was held in the place mentioned above, but later, at the request of the secretary of that entity, Señor Miranda, deliberations continued in the offices of the Nationalist Party. The number of persons at the congress was 18, about 40 others occupying the gallery.

Dr. Salvador de Almenara, who, as has already been stated, is a foreigner, delivered a violent address against Argentina, stating among other things that "it was crushed beneath the leather boot of the tyrant, and it is necessary to free it at all costs." He read a letter from Sr. Albino Pagnalin, and then Claudio Martinez Paiva, who invariably accompanies the ex-convict Simon Radovitzky, called for homage to "the eminent republican Señor Hipolito Irigoyen, who is the apostle of American democracy, constituting a bright light amidst the profound obscurity in which we live."

Amable Gutierrez Diez, another foreigner, attacked with great virulence the Army and Navy of Argentina, saying that it was impossible to rely on either

From M.A. Argentina

Report No. 4402

July 31, 1931.

## ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Stability of Government.

(c) Radicalism.

chiefs or officers because these supported the tyrant and were worthy of nought but scorn in the eyes of natives and foreigners. He concluded with a string of abusive terms against members of the present Government.

Discussion now became agitated and Dr. Arturo Olazabal Quintana said that, whether or not he was in accord with the views expressed by the previous speaker, he believed that it was inadvisable to quarrel with the Army, as it would be the weapon in the hands of the deported radicals and extremist elements which would eventually bring about the end sought by the congress.

After a short discussion, a permanent committee was elected as follows: president, Dr. Quinteros Luque; vice, Dr. Salvador de Almenara; secretary, Jose Larro; pro-secretary, Eugenio Marbone.

The congress stood once more "in honor of the august personage Hipolito Irigoyen and the eminent citizens Drs. Marcelo T. de Alvear and Honorio Pueyrredon." The congress also stood in honor of Señor Severo Toranzo for his "sublime action in defending his country."

The following resolutions were then discussed: 1st. To denounce to the civilized world the case of the Argentine Republic. 2nd. To protest energetically against the captivity of the eminent republican Señor Hipolito Irigoyen, in his old age. 3rd. Declare to be vile traitors to their country all the Army Chiefs who from their hiding places brought about the present state of affairs. 4th. Declare the guilt of the Supreme Court of the Nation for having rendered homage to the tyranny. 5th. Accuse as accomplices all the members of the Argentine Diplomatic Corps for not having resigned their posts and having negotiated the recognition of the so-called Provisional Government. 6th. To repudiate and condemn any Argentine present in this congress who gives information. After a debate it was resolved to treat on the most essential point:

This was the most important and principal object of the congress, giving a clear indication of the intention of the Argentine deportees to eliminate the Provisional Government by any possible means, inclusive of violence counting with the efficient aid of persons of extremist ideals and even of those accused of ordinary crimes.

In the secret session held on the same night, it was stated that, with the exception of a few officers, mostly retired, there was little chance of support from the Army.

From M.A. Argentina

Report No. 4402

July 31, 1931.

## ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Stability of Government.

(c) Radicalism.

It was also suggested by several of the most violent that the best and most rapid means of ending the state of affairs brought about by the Revolution of September 6, would be an attempt on the person of the head of the Provisional Government. In this regard it was mooted that for a sum of money the services of a well known anarchist - name unmentioned - could be secured. In the case of failure the blame could then be laid solely on the person chosen.

The secret session ended, apparently, without any definite decision being arrived at. It can be stated that in both public and secret meetings, a marked spirit of discord was visible among the 18 who took part in them.

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These secret meetings are a further example of hostility on the part of political refugees in Uruguay (See our Report No. 4312 of March 12, 1931). However, in the opinion of the Press, the fact that the activities of the congressmen are so well known to the Argentine police would seem to limit the scope for mischief on the part of the deportees, or, as is the case of some members of the "Congress", fugitives from justice. With regard to the responsibility of the Uruguayan Government, a declaration from the authorities at Lavalleja is to the effect that it was understood that a patriotic get-together of fellow countrymen was all that was contemplated.

From M.A. Argentina

Report No. 4402

July 31, 1931.

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3-2 Report

ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: National Elections.

Upon resuming his post as Provincial President of the Argentine Republic after an absence in the north of Argentina, General Ribera signed a decree on February 28th authorizing the Interventor of Buenos Aires Province to convene elections on April 5th for governor, vice-governor, senators and deputies, the elections in Buenos Aires to be followed by elections in Cordoba, Corrientes, Santa Fe, Salta and Jujuy.

We are also reliably informed that the National Legislature will be constituted no later than September and probably by the middle of August. The President of the Republic personally gave the latter information to the French Ambassador while Sr. Ernesto Bosch, the Minister of Foreign Affairs also assured our Ambassador of the same.

*E. Fleming*  
From M.A. Argentina

Report No. 4615

March 13, 1931.

G-2 Report

ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Present Executive and Cabinet.

(a) Present Executive.

It became known whilst President Uriburu was visiting Rosario from March 28 to 30, that on his return to the Federal Capital he proposed to issue a Manifesto to the Nation on the occasion of the approaching elections in the Province of Buenos Aires (April 5) and later in other Provinces. The Manifesto was duly issued and it certainly constitutes a document of exceptional political importance, as can be judged from the free translation which follows.

"I address myself to the people of the Republic in this delicate moment of the national life in order to let them know all that I think. Within a few days will commence the first elections convoked under the Government of the Revolution. The people, called to the polling stations will elect their constitutional rulers, first in the Province of Buenos Aires, and in due course in the rest of the country. It is right that the President of the Government, who was the chief of the revolution, should speak to his fellow-citizens with the simplicity, the loyalty and the frankness which he has employed on every occasion.

Barely six months have passed since the happenings of September freed Argentine society from bankruptcy and opprobrium. The country, impelled towards the abyss by the forces of orgy, pulled up suddenly at the edge of it. The civic reaction was formidable and the people, realizing profoundly the peril averted, participated, unanimous and jubilant, in the solemn installation of the Provisional Government. The movement effected in the Capital had its repercussion throughout the Republic. The Revolution was propagated literally by telegraph. And such was the rottenness of the then ruling regime that it fell at the mere announcement that the troops under my command had occupied Government House, and not a single worthy gesture dignified the figure of those who up to then had claimed to be the depositaries of the popular mandate. The constitutional authorities of the Province fled precipitately, abandoning them, ruined, to the Revolution.

To such an extreme had the corruption of civic customs gone that the legal emergence of such representatives of the organized power of society had become possible. It is not surprising therefore that the whole political and administrative system, managed by persons devoid of scruples and having no aim but their own enrichment, was diverted from its proper function and converted into an opportunity for illicit procedure and transactions. The common goods, the public utility, were subordinated to the personal gain of the official who had to deal with whatever matter, or to the convenience of the protegee or the friend whom it was desired to please. The seats of Government, national, provincial and municipal; the autonomous departments; the public offices; all presented the

## ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Present Executive and Cabinet.

(a) Present Executive.

shameful spectacle of markets or stores where matters of general interest were the merchandise; the State, the seller; the official or his associates, the buyers; with bribery as the currency of the transactions. Shamelessness reached such a pitch that all decorum was abolished. Illegality prevailed without restraint, and astonished opinion witnessed with growing indignation the degradation of morality.

I can utter these truths in the same way that one can tell the convalescent of the gravity of the illness which had attacked him. The revolution was, above all, an outburst of the national conscience, whose capacity for tolerance had been overtaken by the iniquity ruling. The figures of the public debt fabulously augmented by 4,500 millions, without the favourable testimony of one single reproductive public work erected in the whole of the country; administration corrupt; the austerity of justice - with some honourable exceptions - compromised; primary and secondary education prostituted to petty politics; the universities converted into centers of anarchy, demagoguery and disorder; the armed institutions disorganized by the violation of their organic laws and upset by favoritism, vociferously proclaimed the inevitable advent of social collapse. As has already been said - just a little longer - and we should have been submerged in the most terrible crisis in our history. The revolution came and saved intact the structure of our institutions; it assured order; readjusted the administration; moralized public customs and supervised and continues to supervise the dangerous liquidation (difficult settlement) of the lamentable period which opened in 1916.

I recall all this - although it happened only recently - because the public has an astonishing tendency to forgetfulness.

I would remind it also that the afflictions of the Republic did not occur spontaneously, nor did they arise from natural accidents, such as earthquakes, tempests or hail. They were brought about by men who styled themselves the agents of a reforming mission, the representatives of a party who saw in them the incarnation of their ideals.

I know and feel the responsibility of what I say, and with a full realization of it, I address myself to the people. The Radical Personalist Party was the instrument which these men utilized to scourge the country. The Revolution deposed and impeached these men. Public opinion must judge this Party.

I am impelled to utter these concepts by my love for my country. For her I staked my reputation as a soldier, my honor, and my life. I have offered her all, renouncing everything. I have a right to be heard.

## ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Present Executive and Cabinet.

(a) Present Executive.

If, after the Sixth of September, the Radical Personalist Party had realized its errors, repudiated them publicly and uniting its energetic and sincere condemnation to the energetic and sincere condemnation of the country, of those who had betrayed its ideals, in order to reform its ranks, inspired by lofty aspirations for the common weal, there would have been nothing to be said. It would have been simply one more group joining the civic phalanx which, like the Government, aims at an early return to constitutional normality. It has had more than sufficient time for this. But unfortunately, I see in the process of its development only the ambition to get back into power, for the sake of the power itself, without any promise of amendment. Though the Government affords it guarantees, it offers none to the Nation. With the exception of those principals who are in goal, accused of crimes, or the fugitives from justice, the men who identified themselves with and contributed to the carrying out of the Government of Irigoyen are the men who now present themselves in the front ranks, without shame, as if the great guilt of one man had made him the Scape Goat, cleansing them from all sin.

More still: Other members of that Party perpetrated the September slaughter: others have conceived counter-revolutionary plans, seeking the aid of anarchist elements and not disdaining the bomb as an argument, intending to assassinate those who govern in the name of the revolution. The execution of this plan, which would have put civilization in the Republic into mourning, was prevented with a strong hand.

Far from disowning or expelling them, this Party has made some of these men Presidents of its Committees, has selected others as candidates for the legislature and it welcomes all of them into its midst. The triumph of those men would bring us back to the pre-revolutionary era and would mean that the revolution had been useless and sterile. It is inadmissible that they should play the double game of conspiracy and elections, or that in such circumstances they should cherish the hope of winning in the latter what they could not obtain in the former.

The Personalist Radical Party should not go to the polls in explicit or tacit solidarity with the deposed regime, to return to the crimes of the past. The Republic cannot live between the disillusion of elections and the violence of revolutions. It requires a categorical settlement. It needs the complete assurance that within that nucleus (Radical Personalist), nothing and nobody shall upset the march and the programme of the movement of September. Till that is the case that Party lacks the right to make an appeal to public opinion."

We also quote below the President's Rosario speech which is likewise to the point:

From M.A. Argentina

Report No. 4325

April 7, 1931.

## ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Present Executive and Cabinet.

(a) Present Executive.

"It was with real pleasure that I accepted the invitation to visit your city. I observe with legitimate pride as an Argentine that its progress increases and that it worthily maintains its prestige as the second city of the Republic. Its influence moreover has ceased to gravitate exclusively in the economy of the Nation and it has become a guiding center of culture. It is for that reason that I take advantage of your generous hospitality to tell you some authentic facts about the Revolution of September which brought us to the management of public affairs and which must have resounded like an ode of liberty to you who were amongst the first to suffer the consequences of an imprecise and corrupt political creed.

So few months have elapsed since the flight of the delinquents, driven away by their own conscience, that it seems almost superfluous to recall what the aims of the revolution were. Nevertheless those who ought to be doing penance, to merit the pardon of their fellow-citizens, pretend to have such short memories that it is opportune to call attention to the facts, because this is not a time for jests, and neither the country nor the government is inclined to tolerate them. The revolution was made to destroy a system and the public realizes that nothing can arrest the moralising action of the movement of September.

The Government which emerged from the Revolution maintains inviolable its intention to assure better days for the Republic and it will not be discouraged in the task of reorganizing the public administration, of restoring to the country its financial credit, and of correcting the chaotic disorder to which it had been conducted, confronting the grave responsibility of teaching by example.

The undertaking to respect the Constitution does not imply that the institutional regime ought to be based on a deceptive respect for forms without regard to their intrinsic reality, but rather that it ought to repose on fidelity to its substantial principles.

One cannot conceive therefore, for the spirit of the revolution, the existence of functionaries upon whom our fundamental charter imposes most delicate tasks, who maintain a close solidarity with a system characterized precisely by the continuous perversion of constitutional practices.

Confronted with such functionaries, the Provisional Government cannot have its purifying action frustrated and feel itself inhibited from acting as it should act, for any formal reason, alien to the exigencies of this revolutionary period, necessarily transitory.

## ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Present Executive and Cabinet.

(a) Present Executive.

Notwithstanding its absolute conviction that certain of the principles of our supreme charter hinder the progress of the country, the Government is disposed to maintain them until they are legally modified, because it has promised not to impose reforms by force.

But it is one thing to maintain constitutional principles and a quite different one to remain impassive if an attempt be made to elude what the Republic requires imperiously, that is to say the complete disarticulation of the system of political and administrative corruption which prevailed until the Sixth of September.

Devoted to the demagogic flattery of the electorate, Parliament likewise disregarded the vital necessities of the country. It provoked and consented to the immoderate inflation of public expenditure with the resultant accumulation of a heavy deficit. It maintained, unconsolidated, a considerable floating debt without which the financial situation of the country would be a sound one. It tolerated the absurd monetary policy of the deposed Government, a policy which brought the country to unconvertibility and to currency depreciation. It left without protection industries employing national raw materials and capable of taking root and prospering with the temporary aid of Customs duties.

You as business men and men of common sense are well aware to what a length the submission of those electoral majorities to the absolutism of a "caudillo" has brought the country. For that reason you will likewise understand the hard task of the Provisional Government. We found the vaults of the Treasury empty, salaries unpaid, the country oppressed by the weight of a floating debt out of proportion to the resources of its credit, with the use of the Banco de la Nacion exceeded to an extreme limit, and faced with a critical situation in the foreign financial markets. We were obliged therefore to reduce public expenditure drastically and to augment taxes, selecting from our archaic and unjust tributary system, such taxes as would give us an immediate increased yield so as not to disturb the march of the administration seriously.

The task of reforms therefore which awaits the reconstituted Parliament is an urgent one. Whilst the Government is adjusting the resources of the administration and resolving pending questions, such as that one which affects you so closely, that of the Port of Rosario, in which we have arrived at a solution after some decades of waiting, obtaining at the same time the implantation of important improvements without prolonging the term of the contract-law, whilst all this is being done, I say, Congress will have to study and resolve the projects sent to it by the Government and those which originate with itself.

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In consequence, the country demands a constructive Parliament in which the productive forces of the Nation shall exercise their influence fully in order to mould into shape their sound economic and fiscal aspirations. You have in your own hands the instrument for achieving this. Seek to use it with enthusiasm, and with faith in the capacity for reaction of a country weary of electoralism, knowing that the more zeal you put into it, the more difficult will be the survival of the elements of corruption and demagoguery which annul the process of the perfecting of our democracy".

The "manifesto" has been enthusiastically acclaimed by the entire Press for its straightforwardness and good common sense and because it shows so clearly that General Jose Uriburu and his associates are seeking no financial or political gain in carrying out the reformation of the Government. My contacts with the Army and Navy show that they are quietly and solidly behind the present Government regardless of their political leanings. There is one universal thought and that is that the old order of things under the Irigoyen regime must not return.



From H.A. Argentina

Report No. 4325

April 7, 1931.

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Constitutional reforms to be submitted to Congress by the Provisional Government after the November elections were outlined fully in a manifesto published by General Uriburu on June 18th.

The proposed changes aim chiefly at limitation of the powers of the President of the Republic, assurance of financial and political autonomy to the provinces, restriction of expenditure, Congressional freedom to hold sessions at will, and the greater independence of the Judicial Power. With the Constitution modified in accordance with the Government's wishes, it would no longer be possible for the president of the Republic to prevent Congress from fulfilling its duties; he would similarly be prevented from intervening in the federated states at will. Intervention orders would become a prerogative of the Supreme Court; there would be a deviation of some revenue from the National Treasury to provincial coffers; the Courts would appoint their own nominees to vacancies on the bench, their candidates being merely subject to approval by the other powers.

The actual manifesto is as follows:

"Fellow Citizens, I submit herewith to the consideration of the people a draft of proposed Constitutional Reforms which explain clearly and concisely the reasons that led to the revolution of September 6. I comply in this manner with the sacred oath taken by me at the moment when my comrades and I decided to gamble our lives in an effort to save the country from the state of moral, social, and economic bankruptcy to which it was being dragged by the deposed regime.

"Without these reforms the great civil and military movement which cost immense and painful sacrifice on the part of many, will pass into history as a movement that failed. The months that have gone by since the revolution will be just as so many months in which the Government was substituted by another of the bird-of-passage type. Unless the changes proposed by the Provisional Government are brought into force, the country will be exposed once again to the dangers accompanying the return of the filibusters, and to the repetition of their frauds.

"I have a profound faith in the clear conscience of the people and in the moral forces inspiring the nation as a whole. These were the factors that impelled the people to follow us on the glorious day of liberation.

"The people willingly give their help to initiatives taken to assure their rights and political liberty; but they repudiate in anger the men who have led them when they find they have been betrayed. In these solemn months there are many happenings which have served to reveal the way in which the public was victimised by professional politicians and demagogues. These people do not appear to have profit-

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ted by the lesson they have been taught, and are endeavouring, by means of intrigue and empty phrases, to bring about the return of the old system, believing it will again be possible for them to play without limit upon the people's tolerance.

"We shall return very soon to a state of normality; but not to that state of apparent normality prevailing prior to September 6. It will be a state of normality guaranteed by the reforms I am submitting today to the consideration of my fellow citizens. They are drawn up with a view to assuring the proper functioning of Argentina's organic institutions, and as a guarantee of political and other rights for the future.

"The Revolution of September 6 had a much deeper purpose than the simple changing of one set of men for another.

"In seventy years of Constitutional life, the Argentine people have found three capital defects characterising the country's politics. They are: personalism, centralism, and the oligarchy which developed finally into demagoguery. For our politicians, whatever their denomination or tendency, institutions vanish behind the personalities or individuals. The Executive Power is the person of the President - he is the friend or enemy - and the party is the man or men who command the votes that placed him in office.

"This Argentine tendency towards personalism has been favored in growth by the Constitution, which has also made possible the transformation, in recent years, of the National Congress into a dependency subordinate to the President.

"Presidential prepotency, fomented by the spirit and letter of the Constitution and the personalist tendency of our political psychology, converted the holder of the First Magistracy into a species of dictator. This was particularly noticeable towards the end of the Irigoyenist regime, when it so happened that the President was also the leader of the party that had placed him in office. Presidential prepotency in this case totally annulled the existing Parliament, which could not meet without being convened by the President, and which could be sent into recess by simple Presidential decree.

"Under the Constitution, as it stands today, it is also an easy matter for the President of the Republic to exert improper pressure in certain quarters, as demonstrated by some cases which have been brought to the public notice and which affect the Judicial Power. The present system permits infiltration of politics into the courts.

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"The predominance of the National Executive Power reached the point of suppressing the Federal system altogether. The provinces were reduced to subjection by the First Magistrate much as he might have subjected political entities other than his own. Furthermore, the financial weakness of the federal States, brought about by the wide taxation powers exercised by the Federal Government in Provincial Territory, has aggravated the situation of the provinces, bringing them into a state of even greater subjection than would otherwise have been the case.

"This excessive amount of authority invested in the person of the First Magistrate by the Constitution is engendering a state of centralism which, if permitted to develop still further, will create the most formidable electoral machine in the history of the Republic, and, more dangerous still, the machine will be controlled by a single arm - that of the President, assisted only by his vassals, the Provincial Governors.

"Personalism and centralism have created also the oligarchy which functioned so naturally around the all-powerful President. The oligarchy may be likened to the appendix of strong presidential personalism - so strong, in fact, as to be in a position to annul the efforts of Congress.

"Under the conditions prevailing prior to September 6 the public offices constituted an immense electoral barracks, controlled by "caudillos", whose supreme chief was the President of the Republic.

"This lamentable consequence of our democracy constitutes a grave danger for the future.

"To combat the evils of personalism it is indispensable that we should bring about the urgent reforms which were the basis of the revolution. It is not sufficient that we should have free suffrage, we must also have a proper distribution of power. The institutional deficiencies which favored the malpractices of the deposed regime must be repaired in such a manner as to prevent their repetition in the future.

"It is usual to guarantee in all its aspects the other powers of the State against the presidential prepotency; to assure the regular and independent working of Congress; and to consolidate the autonomous organization of the Judicial Power.

"To move against this absorbing centralisation, we must procure political and administrative decentralisation, the rigorous delineation of the power of the Federal Government to intervene in the provinces and to give these effective autonomy, both political and financial. The au-

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tonomy of the provinces is fictitious if they cannot count with their own necessary means which will allow them financial independence. The Nation must not absorb all the means which belong to the provinces, and which are connected with the interests bound up with the territory and the jurisdiction of the provinces.

"To guard against the wastage of public money by demagogic political majorities or by combinations of parliamentary groups, for electoral ends, we must stop the members of the Congress from increasing the costs and salaries in the budgets.

"Against anarchy in the application of the law in the whole territory of the Nation and to guarantee justice, averting the infiltration of political or other influences in the courts of the province, it is indispensable to give the Supreme Court powers of a Higher Court in the cases where the common law is violated or inapplicable.

"These are the motives which determine the institutional reforms which at the present moment are of greater urgency.

"In order to assure the political and financial autonomy of the provinces, Articles 5 and 6 Incision 2 of Article 67 must be reformed.

"Article 5 rules that each Province shall dictate for itself a Constitution under the representative republican system, in accordance with the principles, declarations and guarantees of the National Constitution, so as to assure the administration of justice, the municipal regime and primary education. The Federal Government guarantees to each province the enjoyment and the exercise of its institutions."

"The guarantee referred to in the latter part of Article 5 is the federal intervention established in Article 6, in order to guarantee the republican form of government.

"Under the pretext of this guarantee of the republican form of government, innumerable abuses of political intervention have been committed so as to substitute in this way some parties by others in the government of the provinces and the federal system has been falsified and denaturalised.

"The last paragraph of Article 5 must be reformed. The suppression of this paragraph would mean leaving the provinces without the guarantee which refers to the enjoyment and exercise of their institutions, as it would eliminate the Federal Intervention which assures the republican form of government. The reform must obtain a substitute for

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this paragraph in the following way: On these conditions each Province will have the enjoyment and exercise of its institutions, the violation of which will be solved by a summary process of the Supreme Court as the tribunal responsible for the interpretation in the last instance of the Constitution and responsible for the enforcement of its principles in cases of institutional conflicts.

"This reform will transform into an institutional case and a high legal debate what are today manipulations by blind passion or by low interests, political struggles in which those triumph who can use the material force of government or of its demagogic support by means of interventions which are retrogressive in all the provinces.

"A reform of this type will eliminate once and for all the political intrigues of parties as causes for an intervention. The struggles of the local parties will be settled among them alone and will not be complicated or made more intense in any manner by any action of the Federal Government. In this way, this turbid source of restlessness which has caused so much suffering in the country will be taken from Congress.

"When the Constitution at present in being accorded the Provinces the guarantee of the republican form of government, political conflicts were not referred to, only those conflicts of an institutional character which might compromise the principles on which our system of government are based.

"The question of intervention in a Federal State must be brought forward exclusively, according to the spirit of Articles 5 and 6, by a grave case of a violation of the constitution or by a question of public right which would affect the institutional structure of a province. Unfortunately, the faculty of intervention has been abused to an almost unreliable degree.

"The reform takes this power away from the Congress, a power which was at the arbitrary discretion of the political powers and invests it in the serene and impartial Higher Court.

"As a consequence article 6 should be reformed to read as follows: "The Federal Government shall intervene in the territory of the provinces, through the intermediary of the Executive Power, with the sole object of enforcing the judgments or mandates of the Supreme Court at its requisition, if in such cases as that named in the previous article, they were not respected. It shall also intervene, with the approval of the Senate, only and exclusively to re-establish the constituted authorities when they have been deposed by sedition or by invasion

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from another province. If such an event should occur during the Congressional recess, the President should convene the Senate without delay for the sole object of submitting to it the intervention proceedings, except in cases of supreme urgency in which he may intervene, convening the Senate immediately afterwards."

"Article 53 should also be reformed in order to amend the clause: "and to intervene in a Province in such a case as referred to in the latter part of Article 6."

"It is proposed that the Senate give its consent, because, in our Constitutional system the Senate is the body which represents the provinces in their federal character and it is only logical that it should be the Senate which gives consent for intervention in a Province for the purpose of re-establishing its overthrown authorities.

"Suppressing in this way, political questions and the interests and intrigues of parties, as a cause for intervention, the causes are reduced to the following limited cases: a) disregard of the mandates or judgments of the Supreme Court when that Tribunal acts in accordance with Article 5; b) when the constituted authorities have been deposed by sedition or invasion from another Province.

"The object of interventions is also precise and rigorous. In the case of a) to enforce the disregarded mandate of the Supreme Court; and b) to re-establish the authorities which have been deposed.

"The political autonomy of the provinces being assured in this manner, it is necessary to procure their financial autonomy, to which end incision 2 of Article 67, which attributes to Congress the faculty of imposing contributions in all the territory of the Nation, should be modified. Such faculty gives the Nation - as in the cases of internal revenue - the power to tax materials moved from the provinces or establish double taxation, National and Provincial, on the same materials. It is necessary that this state of affairs should be changed.

"The incision under study should be reformed by adding the following clause: "The taxes which Congress established on material found in the territory of the provinces or under their jurisdiction, should be distributed proportionately and equitably between the National Treasury and that of the province, it not being possible to put a national and provincial tax on the same material." Under these conditions the provinces will have their proper rights to that which corresponds to them, assuring their resources independently of the central powers or metropolitan influences, and will receive that which should

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be theirs instead of an alms-subsidy obtained by the "caudillos" in return for political submission.

"The financial autonomy of the provinces being guaranteed in this manner, it is necessary, in view of the abuses which have damaged the credit of the Nation, to regulate the faculties of the provinces and municipalities for contracting loans abroad, the terms of which may not be complied with and thus damaging the good name of Argentina, even though it be not the Nation itself that has not met its obligations. No distinction is made abroad between the Nation, the province or municipality. In order to accomplish this, the following paragraph should be added to Incision 3 of Article 67: "The Provinces and Municipalities may use their credit abroad in accordance with the regulations dictated by Congress to that effect."

"Reform Article 55 and Incisions 11 and 12 of Article 86. These dispositions make the opening of Congress depend on the will of the President of the Nation, and fix the period between May 1 and September 30 as the only time when Congress may sit, and subordinates to the will of the President of the Republic the extension of the sessions or the convening of extraordinary sessions.

"The abuses and grave corruption arising out of these dispositions during the regime prior to the revolution was notorious. The existence and independence of Congress were a farce, and the power of the State was suppressed to such an extent that in the month of September, 1930, members of Congress had not commenced their ordinary sessions, when, in a few days, according to the Constitution, they should have gone into recess, and they would have gone into recess without functioning as a legislative power had they not fallen, together with the government, on September 6.

"In order to avoid a repetition of such cases, the clauses mentioned should be reformed in the following manner: "Congress should meet in May without being convened by the President and function ordinarily until December, when it will go into recess, it being possible to prolong its sessions, or call extraordinary sessions either through the President of the Nation, or by the joint request of the presidents of both chambers in writing and signed by a third part of the members of both chambers."

"In this way Congress will function independently of the President, and a minority of a third part of senators and deputies can demand the prolongation of sessions or call an extraordinary session, without depriving the President of the Nation, on his part, of the power of extending the sessions or calling them together extraordinarily when grave matters of State so require.

"Reform Article 56, first paragraph, in the sense of ending the manipulations intrigues and abuses of the

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majority or minority coalitions which may form accidental majorities, of passing judgment on the validity and acceptance of elected members' diplomas, under the influence of the mob.

"The abuses and the degeneration in this respect during the deposed regime are so notorious that it is unnecessary to put them on record here.

"This reform must be declared necessary so as to substitute another system as follows: 'All diplomas given by the Scrutinising Junta or by the Legislature, depending on whether diplomas of Deputies or Senators are referred to, will be a presumptive cause for belief in their legitimacy. Members of Congress will incorporate themselves directly with their respective bodies on the presentation of their diplomas, and will validly act as legislators.'

"The diplomas which are rejected before the Scrutinising Junta or the Legislature, depending on whether their diplomas of Deputies or Senators are referred to, whatever the reason of the rejection, will be studied and the rejection by the bodies above referred to will be either approved or over-ruled by an Interparliamentary Junta. This Junta will be formed by four Senators and four deputies, who will be named yearly by and presided over by the President of the Supreme Court who will have the power of a double vote in all cases and such extra vote will be decisive in the case of a deadlock.

"Should the objection to the diploma not be accepted by the Junta the legislator will be confirmed in his position; should the objection to the diploma be confirmed the representative will be suspended, with the proviso that all acts prior to the suspension be valid. In this latter case, the vacancy will be placed in the hands of the Executive Power who will call for a new election."

"The presidency of the Supreme Court in the Junta of Powers will guarantee absolute impartiality in the procedure of the Junta and his double vote is in the nature of an extra assurance.

"The Constitution will invest in the Court the power of supreme interpreter of its rulings and the proposed reform will give it the character of Judge in institutional conflicts; hence it is logical that he who presides over this Junta should be responsible for the judgements on the powers accorded to the Deputies by the people, and by the legislature to the Senators of the Provinces.

"To reform the second paragraph of article 56 which has allowed the scandalous obstructionism so prevalent in the past and which stopped the working of the Congress during the period of the deposed regime. This re-

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form must be made in the following manner: 'The Chamber of Senators and the Chamber of Deputies may proceed validly with one third of the number of members of each body.' In this way a preponderant majority cannot keep the Congress closed by absenteeism.

"It is also necessary to reform Article 58 to avert absenteeism by the inclusion of the following paragraph: 'A member of Congress is automatically suspended if he is absent, without leave of the Chamber, from six convocations or six meetings.'

"As a measure of defence against the wastage of public money and to procure a better balancing of the budgets, wastage which the deposed regime brought to an extreme limit, it is indispensable to limit the powers of the Congress insofar as they refer to increases in the budgets. This necessitates the reform of incision 7 of Article 67, by the addition of a paragraph as follows: 'In the budgets of expenses and salaries, the Congress can decrease such budgets, except the salaries of the Judges, and those of the President and the Ministers of the Executive Powers in the case of Articles 79 and 93. The distribution of the expenses can be altered but not so as to increase the total sums by the Executive Powers. If the Congress does not sanction opportunely the annual budget, the Executive Power can prorogue that which should rule.'

"Reform Incision 5 of Article 86 in the sense that 'The President of the Republic shall name, in agreement with the Senate, the magistrates of the Supreme and the lower courts of the Nation. That the President shall make the appointments in accordance with recommendations submitted to him by the selfsame courts. The Supreme Court of the Nation shall elect its own President. The rest of the staff attached to the administration of justice shall be appointed, promoted, transferred or moved by the Supreme Court in accordance with recommendations submitted by the high court in each jurisdiction or district.'

"The removal or change of members of Chambers of Appeal, judges and fiscal agents shall be decided after the formalities provided in legislation have been complied with, by a committee constituted by two Senators and three members of the Supreme Court. The removal of members of the Supreme Court shall be decided only after political impeachment as set forth in Article 45. The phrase 'and other inferior tribunals' shall be excised from the pre-cited article.

"The adoption of this reform would signify that the President of the Republic was no longer free to appoint his own nominees to the Judicial power, nor to promote them or otherwise grant them special favors. The

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Judicial Power itself would name its own candidates. In order to leave the President with a certain amount of freedom, the Courts would suggest two or three names of candidates for each vacancy, leaving the First Magistrate to choose between them but not outside of them. The President would then submit the name of his choice to the National Senate for final approval. Thus it would fall upon all three Powers to participate in the filling of appointments falling vacant in the Courts, and two of them - the President and the Senate - would be at liberty to exercise the veto on the Judicial Power's nominees. Adoption of this system would afford a maximum of guarantees.

"To confirm still further the independence of the Judicial Power, Article 99 should also be changed by adding the following: 'The Supreme Court shall prepare, after hearing the lower courts, the annual budget of the Judicial Power, and will submit it to the Executive Power for incorporation in the national estimates when the latter are submitted to Congress.'

"Reform Article 100 of the Constitution to make it read: 'The Court, in addition to its jurisdiction over cases of a Constitutional and federal character assigned by the present article, and its right to intervene accorded by the reform in Article 5, shall enjoy the faculty of resolving all questions that may arise between the Executive and Legislative Powers, and shall act, as Court of Abrogation, in legal recourses presented for violation or non-application of the law which may be interposed against definite sentences of the ordinary courts in the entire territory of the Republic.'

"The following should also be added with regard to the functioning of the Court: 'The Supreme Court shall be constituted by a president, a number of ministers (not less than fourteen) and a Procurator-General. It shall be divided into two chambers, the number of members in each to be fixed by the Court itself. On of them shall deal with federal and provincial causes, extraordinary recourses, and questions of an institutional character. The other will function as a Court of Abrogation, the competence of which shall be regulated by law.'

"In this manner the Supreme Tribunal will become a Federal Court and Court of Abrogation which will bring about the real affrancement of the justice referred to in the preamble to and Article 5 of the Constitution.

"Arising out of the formation of the Court of Abrogation, incision 11 of Article 67 should have the following added: 'Except the jurisdiction of the Court of Abrogation.'

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"This project assures the most harmonious distribution of the powers without weakening each one in its present functions. The President of the Republic will continue to enjoy all the authority necessary to enable him efficiently to direct the Government in the application of laws and in the administrative services. The only things that would be limited are:

'The much abused power to intervene in the Provinces, over-ride their autonomy in order to become their political master, or to place his political followers in the ascendent.

'The power to make Congress function according to his personal convenience.

"The Judicial Power would remain clad in the majesty and enjoying the independence demanded by its high mission in the land. Congress would regain its primordial right to function independently of the Executive Power."

The President terminated his manifesto with the following exhortation:

"Fellow Citizens:

"I have here expressed and articulated the organic and constructive plan of the Revolution of September 6 which it is necessary to realize as soon as Congress, which will be elected on November 8, meets. In this way the Argentine Republic will embark, as a true federation of Provincial States, on a new political era, with its institutions consolidated, with its citizen rights and liberties guaranteed, and in an atmosphere of security and cleanliness that will take it to the high destinies of which our forefathers dreamed, and which our children will realize.

"I address myself to every Argentine and not to determined political groups, because these transcendental reforms do not respond to a tendencious or party programme, but to a unanimous national desire, and they will be upheld by opinions from most divers sources.

"I solemnly declare to you that as I have refused, without being required to do so, to occupy a position in the future Government, I will not favor candidates on behalf of anyone, and I will not allow such candidates to be encouraged in Government House through official influence.

"All I require of my fellow-citizens, inspired as I am by the highest patriotism, is that above all and for all, they should form themselves into a united force renouncing party relations so as, united, to uphold these

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reforms as the most indispensable need for a return to normality. I also exhort the citizens to side with high and worthy solutions.

"I hand you here, in a concrete form, the programme of the revolution, which must now be fulfilled, certain in the knowledge that you will make it triumph in the next National Congress.

"JOSE F. URIBURU"

This document has just been published, and, therefore, while we believe the reforms are popular with the people and necessary, we have not as yet had time to hear all the comments.

  
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## ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Political Parties and Groups.

(b) Analysis of Leading Parties and Groups.

The Federacion Nacional Democratica, a body uniting what were formerly the principal opposition forces in the country came definitely into being on September 27, 1930. This included the following:

Independent Socialists	
Conservatives	Buenos Aires
Democrats	Cordoba
Democrata Progresista	Rosario
Autonomista	Corrientes
Liberal	San Luis
Partido Liberal Pactista	Corrientes
Bloquistas	San Juan
Union Provincial	Salta
Defensa Provincial	Tucuman
Union Civica Radical	
Antipersonalista	Catamarca
Radical Antipersonalista	Corrientes
Union Civica Radical	
Antipersonalista	Entre Rios
"	Santa Fe
Unificacion Radical	
Antipersonalista	Santiago del Estero

Those who did not join included the following:

Liberal	Mendoza
"	Corrientes
"	Tucuman
Concentracion	Catamarca
"	Entre Rios
"	San Juan
Partido Provincial	Buenos Aires
Conservative & Anti-personalists	Jujuy and La Rioja

By forming a National Democratic Federation (Federacion Nacional Democratica) it was not intended for the opposition forces to merge into one overwhelmingly powerful party. These were the parties responsible for the Revolution, their leaders were the men who went to the Army to ask for its help on September 6th. Having with the aid of the armed forces of the Republic succeeded in their joint efforts to overthrow the Irigoyenist regime, the parties felt that the new Government should spring from their ranks and decided that they would fight the battle for the presidency together while retaining individual views and characteristics where the legislative elections are concerned. In other words, the idea was that the future government of Argentina would be headed by a coalition candidate, supported by a coalition Ministry and backed or opposed as circumstances demanded by a Congress in which Anti-personalists, Independent Socialists and Conservatives would all be strongly represented, but none strong enough to impede the task of the legislature, as happened under the former regime.

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(b) Analysis of Leading Parties and Groups.

It is believed that if immediately after the Revolution a plebiscite had been taken among the revolutionaries and most of the business men of the country, Dr. Julio A. Roca, former Governor of the Province of Cordoba would have been unanimously selected as President. The second man, according to current opinion, is Dr. Eduardo Laurencena. (See our Report No. 4251 of November 7, 1930).

After the Revolution it was thought that the former Radical parties who professed allegiance to Sr. Irigoyen might be kept together if a suitable leader could be found, and in time, a strong party might be built up, but no such leader has been found and it has appeared more feasible for the Irigoyenists to allow themselves to be absorbed by other parties. There are many who believe that the Socialist Party will gain considerably in strength as a result of the Irigoyenist's downfall, but one of the principal factors against the Socialists in the coming campaign is, of course, their lack of an effective press. They have only their own newspaper "La Vanguardia" and one or two isolated up-country journals to fight their cause for them, whereas the Federacion Nacional Democratica has all the principal organs of public opinion to back it up. In connection with the Socialist Party, the former Socialist leader Dr. Alfredo L. Palacios received and accepted an official invitation from the Party to return to their ranks after an absence of many years, and form a part of that body as he did when years ago he was their leader and the first Socialist Deputy in Congress.

Shortly after the Revolution and the formation of the Federacion Nacional Democratica, the Provisional Government issued a pronouncement which we quote in its entirety as an excellent example of the views and policies of the Provisional Government with regard to constitutional reform.

"The categorical incontrovertible declarations formulated in the manifesto we made public on the very day of the Revolution, the solemn oath taken, and the official manifestations formulated on September 8, would have appeared to have made it unnecessary to ratify immediately the ideas which animate the Provisional Government in the work of reconstruction it has undertaken. But the understandable impatience of certain political groups and above all, the fact that pledges we have not given and words we have not uttered, are being invoked, decided us to break the silence, and to interrupt, by the consideration and the resolution of the new problems presented, the first and most urgent of the tasks which the country exacts: the reorganization of the public administration. In addressing ourselves therefore once again to the people, as the sole sovereign power, we do so having regard to the fear that its opinion might be misled, deliberately, or in good faith, by the

## ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Political Parties and Groups.

(b) Analysis of Leading Parties and Groups.

adversaries of the Revolution or by those who have not yet realized its profound significance.

One interest only impelled us and still impels us: that of the Nation. Hence the interests of parties, however respect-worthy, must be subordinated to the higher interest.

The political parties who conducted a meritorious opposition to the deposed system and whose efficacious contribution to the formation of the revolutionary ambient is deserving of public applause, participated in the movement by act of presence of their leaders, without any undertaking binding them to the executors of the Revolution other than the assurance that these, in their governmental action, would respect the Constitution and the laws, that in matters electoral they would maintain absolute aloofness, and that in all cases, they would submit to the national will, manifested through the intermediary of its legitimate representative.

These same parties, although they have been able to group together in a given moment an important nucleus of citizens, unanimous in their common repudiation of the governing party, do not constitute the whole of national opinion. Their advice, their aspirations, their decisions, when such are duly expressed by the organ of their authorities, have to be taken into consideration by the Government and appreciated with the respect they undoubtedly merit. But it is also obvious that the Provisional Government is obliged to consult not only the parties at present organized but the whole of the opinion of the Republic. Furthermore, the motive which induced thousands of citizens to give their vote in favour of the only groups in a position to dispute the triumph of the official party having disappeared, it is necessary to ascertain whether they are willing to maintain an adhesion which might now conflict with ideas, principles, and programmes which did not weigh materially when opposed only to the fundamental objective.

If the Government emergent from the Revolution were to confine itself to a mere substitution of men in office, it is certain that it would earn the applause of the Parties benefited, but the Revolution was not made to change electoral values.

Placed in a position above all parties, we have political ideas which we do not pretend to impose, but which it is our duty to make public in order that they may be considered and discussed.

The Government respects and will continue to respect the ideas which the parties have already made known, but it wishes to know what are the ideas of the great mass of opinion which is not enrolled in those parties. If the Nation

From M.A.Argentina

Report No.4318

March 26, 1931

## ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Political Parties and Groups.

(b) Analysis of Leading Parties and Groups.

believes that the Constitution and the existing laws ought to be maintained, in guarantee of the democracy and felicity of the Republic, without any modification whatever, and that it will be sufficient to avert a repetition of the ills we have borne and which we have been able to remedy by the sacrifice of many lives, to transfer the Government to other men, we shall bow to their verdict, but we shall have relieved ourselves of responsibility before posterity and before History.

We admit that there are groups which do not believe it necessary to promote certain institutional reforms, because they consider that our political regime is excellent, although its working has been unfortunate, but we think that the only way to ascertain whether the rest of public opinion shares this point of view is to invite it to adhere resolutely to those parties, or, to constitute a new group of a national character, proclaiming and sustaining other ideas. From this conflict or coincidence of intentions, from which we shall be absolutely aloof, notwithstanding the frankness with which we now express our opinion, the wishes of the Nation will be manifested and we shall bow to them.

We have given our solemn assurance of our respect for the Constitution and for the existing fundamental laws, and we shall not depart from this principle. But that does not and cannot disqualify us from meditating upon the institutional problems of the hour, or relieve us from the obligation of informing the Nation of all that is in our minds.

We do not consider either the Constitution or the existing fundamental laws to be perfect and intangible, but we declare that they cannot be reformed by means other than the Constitution itself indicates.

We believe that it is necessary, interpreting aspirations made public for many years past by parliamentarians, men of government, associations representative of great and diverse interests, that the Constitution should be reformed in such manner as shall render possible the harmonisation of the tributary regimes of the Nation and of the Provinces; the effective autonomy of the federal states; the automatic functioning of Congress; the independence of the Judicial Power, and the entrusting to it of the appointment and removal of the judges; and the perfecting of the electoral regime, so that it may contemplate social needs and the vital forces of the Nation. We consider that when those interests are in a position to gravitate in an effective manner, a repetition of the evils which the Revolution has extirpated will not be possible. When the representatives of the people cease to be merely representatives of political committees and when the seats of Congress are occupied by workmen, cattle farmers, agriculturists, professional men, industrialists, etc., democracy will have

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become with us something more than a fine word.

But it will be Congress, elected by the existing Saenz Peña Law, which must declare the necessity and the extent of the reform, in accordance with the requirement of Article 30 of the National Constitution. The Provisional Government will submit to all the resolutions of the Congress because it will consider it to be the depositary of the national sovereignty.

The honorable undertaking we have entered into not to accept the proclamation of our names in the formation of the future government of the Nation invests us with indubitable authority to tell the country what we honestly think, and gives us the right to demand that our sincerity shall be believed.

When we offered to the country absolute guarantees that the Nation shall at the earliest possible moment, in free elections, choose its new representative, we made a profession of republican faith, but we advanced no opinion regarding systems or procedure, although we maintain the intention to hand over the government as soon as may be, to its legitimate mandatories.

The Revolution was prepared and carried out by men whose sole ambition was to save the Republic. Those men took and still take no militant part in any party. If, therefore, those who have and have had political interests to defend have a right to be heard, it is impossible to deny that right to the rest. The country will say which idea is deserving of the greater credit. We believe in consequence that it is an unavoidable patriotic duty for independent opinion not inscribed in the political parties, to group itself now with them or to form a new national force, to elect, first of all, and by means of the existing electoral system, the Congress to which the Government can submit the projects of institutional reforms which affianse the intentions which inspired the Revolution.

Those who speak therefore of anti-democratic attitudes, of the perpetuation of the Provisional Government, of preferences for this or that political fraction, do a gratuitous wrong to men who have no need to reiterate pledges of honour entered into spontaneously before the Nation, because they have already proved that they are capable of risking their lives and their tranquillity for the good of the country, and because they seek nothing and wish for nothing save only to be deserving of the respect of their fellow citizens.

These words, which reflect the ideas of the Provisional Government, are addressed to the political parties, to the independent citizens, to the workers, to the capitalists, to the industrialists, to the traders, and to all the inhabitants

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of the country who desire the aggrandisement of the Nation."

It appears from the above that it is the Provisional Government's intention to convoke elections in all of the Provinces for the re-establishment of their constitutional authorities and for the election of their representatives to the National Congress, which Congress as we stated in our Report No. 4315 is to be completed by the middle of August. We believe that the election of the President and Vice-president is being purposely left until the present Chief Executive and his Cabinet can submit to the properly elected constitutional authorities their plan for the reform of the National Constitution and the amendment of the electoral law known as the "Saenz Pena Law."

The policy of the Provisional Government with regard to the Saenz Pena Law has not the support of all the various political parties in the Federacion Nacional Democratica. Recent developments in the Federacion give ample proof of this. During the Conservative Party's convention in La Plata on January 9th. at which the following men were chosen as leaders of the Party:

Dr. Antonio Santamarina, President  
Sr. Samuel Ortiz Basualdo, Vice-Pres.  
Sr. Diego Lezico Alvear, Treasurer  
Sr. Luis P. O'Farrell, Asst. Treasurer  
Dr. Vicente Solano Lima, Secretary,

a resolution was adopted to the effect that the Conservative Party issue an invitation to all the political groups forming the Federacion Nacional Democratica and to other political groups and citizens who share its views and purposes, inviting them to form a new National Party which would constitute a political force capable of undertaking the solution of the grave problems with which the country is faced, cooperating with the Government in the sanction of necessary laws and their enforcement. To explain their motive for the formation of the proposed new political party, the Conservatives stated that the Federacion Nacional Democratica was formed as a measure of urgency at a moment when it was generally believed that national elections would be convoked immediately, the directors of the different political groups opposed to the personalist tendency considering that it was necessary to group together in order to uphold the ideas of the Revolution. The delay in the elections and the official statement of the Provisional Government (see statement quoted above) had led to differences of opinion in the Federacion and made the original grouping impossible. In other words, the Conservative Party is virtually in the Government, especially in the Province of Buenos Aires, and cannot, in consequence, conform its views with those of the parties who oppose the electoral plan announced by the Provisional Government.

## ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Political Parties and Groups.

(b) Analysis of Leading Parties and Groups.

The invitation of the Conservative Party to form a national party was accepted in principle by the Democratic Party of Cordoba, but was rejected by some of the other parties including the Independent Socialists of the Capital, the Anti-personalists of Entre Rios and the Partido Demócrata Progresista of Rosario. The Independent Socialists reply to the Conservative Party was rather bitter. They stated that they had no desire to participate in the activities of any political party "enjoying the protection and assistance of the Government" and which had incidentally also been "born in Government House."

On the 5th. of March, a meeting of the political parties was held at the headquarters of the Conservative Party in Buenos Aires to discuss the question of the formation of a National Party.

The parties represented were as follows:

Partido Conservador de Buenos Aires by Dr. Antonio Santamarina  
 Concentraci6n Civica de San Juan - by Dr. Domingo Mor6n  
 Concentraci6n Popular de Entre Rios - D. Alberto Mendes Casariego  
 Partido Demócrata de Cordoba - D. Emilio Olmos  
 " " Tucuman - Dr. Abraham de la Vega  
 " Autonomista de Corrientes - Dr. Felipe C. Solari  
 " Liberal Pactista de Corrientes - Dr. Ercilio Rodríguez  
 " Popular de Jujuy - D. Arturo Paliza Mujica  
 " Conservador de La Rioja - D. Tomas Vera Barros  
 Union Provincial de Salta - Dr. Robustiano Patron Costas  
 Partido Nacional de Santiago del Estero - D. Francisco Castaneda Vega  
 " Liberal de San Luis - Dr. Alberto Arancibia Rodríguez  
 " Radical Nacionalista de Santiago del Estero by Dr. Victor Alcorta  
 Union Catamarquena - Dr. Alberto Galindez  
 Partido Liberal de Mendoza - Dr. Rodolfo Corominas Segura  
 " " Corrientes - Dr. Leopoldo Sosa

There were also a few other less prominent parties represented.

It was resolved that the representatives of the various parties at the meeting should constitute the Provisional Committee of the new grouping. For the chairmanship of the Committee, Dr. Antonio Santamarina of the Conservative Party was chosen, and as Secretaries Dr. Robustiano Patron Costas and Alberto Arancibia Rodríguez.

It was resolved to hold the next meeting of the Committee on April 10th. in the City of Cordoba and discuss and approve the basic or organic platform of the new National

From M.A. Argentina

Report No. 4318

March 26, 1921

G-2 Report

3700

ARGENTINA (Political)


Subject: Political Parties and Groups.

(b) Analysis of Leading Parties and Groups.

Party; all the parties will then be invited to attend the definite National Convention at a specified date.

In the meantime, preparations are being made for the provincial elections (See our Report No.4315). The Conservative party have already elected their candidate for governor in the first of the forthcoming elections - that of the Province of Buenos Aires on April 5th. - in the person of Sr. Antonio Santamarina, and other parties are following suit. Fuller details on the provincial elections will be submitted when available.

2637-L-10.1

  
From M.A.Argentina

Report No.4318

March 26,1931

G-2 Report

ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Present Executive and Cabinet.

(b) Present Cabinet.

MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE.

The new Minister of Agriculture of the Provisional Government, Dr. David M. Arias, was sworn in to office on April 17, 1931.

Dr. Arias has acted as Counsellor of the Faculty of Law and Social Sciences. With the advent of the Provisional Government, he became official regulator of the Ministry of the Interior until February 15th. 1931, when he resigned for personal reasons.

Dr. Arias was married in 1928 to Maria Julia Rocha.

*A. Fleming*  
From M.A. Argentina Report No. 4342

May 17, 1931.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF THE ARMY  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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5-1931

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C-2 Report

ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Present Executive and Cabinet.

(b) Present Cabinet.

MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS.

The new Minister of Public Works of the Provisional Government, Dr. Pablo Calatayud, was sworn into office on April 17, 1931.

Dr. Calatayud has not figured in public life other than as a member of the University. He was for many years a Professor of Law in the Law School. Although his speciality is Civil Law, Dr. Calatayud is also a noted sociologist. At the present time he is considered one of the most prominent Professors of Law.

On the 17th. of September, 1930, he was appointed Interventor of the Province of Catamarca, a post which he held until his recent appointment by the Provisional Government.

*C. Fleming*  
From M.A. Argentina

Report No. 4341

May 7, 1931.

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF  
V. M. M. M.

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G-2 Report

ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Present Executive and Cabinet.

(b) Present Cabinet.

MINISTER OF MARINE.

RECEIVED 4/20 1931

The new Minister of Marine, Rear Admiral Carlos G. Daireaux, was sworn into office on April 17, 1931.

Rear Admiral Daireaux was born in Buenos Aires. In the year 1888 he entered the French Naval School in Brest. During the years 1890-1891 he was midshipman on board the training-ship "Iphigenie." In the year 1892-94 he joined the Squadron of the Mediterranean and made several voyages to the Orient. In the year 1894-95 he was aboard the transport "La Romanche" in the Madagascar Campaign.

He joined the Argentine Navy in 1896. His promotions were as follows: - 1913 commander, 1907 captain, 1923 rear admiral. In 1924, by a Presidential decree, he was named Chief of the General Staff of the Navy. In 1926 he was designated Chief of the Naval Base at Puerto Belgrano. In 1929 he retired from active duty. After the Revolution of September 6, 1930, he was appointed Interventor in Jujuy by the Provisional Government.

Among other posts that Rear Admiral Daireaux has held is that of Chief of the Marine Surveying Mission at San Antonio - Rio Negro. He was also Chief of the sub-commission in Birkenhead directing the construction of 4 destroyers during 1910 - 1912. He was also Naval Attache to Washington during 1916-17 and head of the Naval Mission there. He was in command of the "Rivadavia" during her trip to the United States carrying Dr. Romulo Naon, the Argentine Ambassador in 1918.

From M.A. Argentina

Report No. 4340

April 24, 1931.

G-2 Report

ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Present Executive and Cabinet.

(b) Present Cabinet.

MINISTER OF JUSTICE AND PUBLIC  
INSTRUCTION.

RECEIVED MAY 1 1931  
The new Minister of Justice and Public Instruction, Dr. Guillermo Rothe, was sworn into office on April 17, 1931.

Dr. Rothe was Interventor in the Province of Santa Fe, a post to which he was appointed late in December, 1930, by the Provisional Government. He is Dean of the Faculty of Law and Social Sciences, and formerly National Deputy for the Province of Cordoba where he was born.

A member of the Democratic Party in Cordoba, he was Minister of the Provincial Government when Dr. Julio A. Roca was Governor and backed Constitutional Reform as Deputy in 1923. He was a member of the Supreme Court of Justice in the Province of Cordoba from which he resigned in October last. In addition to his other degrees, he is a Professor of the University of Cordoba, where he was originally a student, and has also been responsible for the modification of several of the University Laws.

*C. Henry*  
From M.A. Argentina

Report No. 4338

April 24, 1931

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G-2 Report

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MAY 20 1931  
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ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Present Executive and Cabinet.

(b) Present Cabinet.

MINISTER OF FINANCE.

The new Minister of Finance of the Provisional Government, Dr. Enrique Uriburu, was sworn into office on April 17, 1931.

Dr. Uriburu has held office as President of the Board of Directors of the Bank of the Nation for the past eight months. Prior to his entry into public life a few days after the Revolution, he was practically unknown to the general public, never having held any important public posts.

In his last post, he has earned for himself the reputation of being a sound financier and economist.

*E. Henning*  
From M.A. Argentina

Report No. 4337

April 24, 1931

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF  
MR. NIELSEN

JUN 16

4 - 1 2657-2 111 1931

WAR DEPARTMENT  
2800

G-2 Report

ARGENTINA (Population & Social)

Subject: The Public Press

(b) Press Censorship.

The Prefecture of Police, acting under orders from higher authority, proceeded on April 15th. last to close for a term of forty-eight hours the newspaper "La Critica" for having published biased statements, news that was untrue and rumours that were absurd and which tended to cause disorder and endanger the public peace. (See our Report on Current Events for April, 1931).

A recent official communique issued by the Prefecture General of Police on May 8th. is to the effect that - "Despite having warned the paper in question that a recurrence of such behaviour would result in its permanent closure, the publication of malicious items continued to spread confusion and disquiet, arising not only from the mischievous wording of the articles, but also from the comments which aimed at undermining the authority of the Provisional Government with disregard of the truth and menacing the public tranquillity."

"For these reasons, and because those who are invested with authority as a result of the Revolution can no longer tolerate the injurious excess of an immoral and mercenary press whose aim is to deceive and corrupt the soul of the nation, this Prefecture of Police, acting under superior orders and for the sake of the health and purification of society, has decreed the definite closure of the newspaper "Critica."

The above is one of several instances where the Provisional Government has had recourse to Press Censorship. Shortly after the closure of "Critica" on May 11th. the management committee of the "Circulo de la Prensa" (Press Club) resolved to send a note to the Provisional Government asking for the raising of the state of siege in so far as it affects the Press, or, otherwise, the adoption of a procedure which would exempt Press organs from penalties for the violation of prescriptions not fixed beforehand. The note refers also, from the point of view of the profession, to the difficult economic situation which the measures adopted create for many households which are deprived of their necessary resources by the closing down of newspapers.

The Provisional Government's answer to this note is freely translated below:

"In spite of the state of siege, which will be raised in due course before the elections, up to the present, the Press has had full liberty in expounding its ideas regarding the doctrinarian propaganda of its programs, the submitting to public opinion of constitutional reforms, and the discussing of the acts and viewpoints of its adversaries. The Provisional Government never has, and never will take a militant part in these debates, but as it is

From M.A.Argentina

Report No.4359

May 23, 1931

G-2 Report

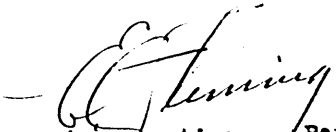
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ARGENTINA (Population & Social)

Subject: The Public Press

(b) Press Censorship.

essential at the present moment to not only physically maintain public order, but also to maintain serenity of spirit, it must be stated that the Provisional Government will not allow any propaganda against the Revolution or against the Government which represents it, in its mission of maintaining internal peace and guiding the political forces which are to help in settling the present problems. Any attempt, or pretense, of making such propaganda will be suppressed, as it provokes false alarms and leads to suspicion and insidious rumours which veil the truth and affect the credit of the country and the high esteem which it enjoys abroad.

  
From M.A. Argentina

Report No. 4359

May 23, 1931

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NOV 2 1935  
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G-2 Report

ARGENTINA (Population and Social Conditions)

Subject: Press Censorship  
Press Control Decree.

RECEIVED G/2 W. D. OCT 29 1935

The ill conceived Press Control Decree instituting the censorship of the press, imposing a prohibitive financial obligation on news agencies and newspaper correspondents was doomed from the first.

This decree was signed by the Minister of the Interior and the President on July 13th. It immediately aroused a storm of protest from practically every newspaper in the country and a delegation of news agencies and the foreign press paid a call upon the President, who promised to consider the objections raised.

In the meantime, an illogical explanatory statement was issued designed to justify the decree. Doctor Melo, the Minister of the Interior had left Buenos Aires, the Federal Capital, for Rosario de la Frontera; the decree was made public on July 19th, during his absence in that city. Doctor Melo returned to Buenos Aires on July 22nd, the same day as the Cabinet crisis took place, which necessarily postponed any action on it until this had passed.

The Chamber of Deputies requested a hearing upon the subject of this Press Control Decree at which Dr. Melo informed it that the question of its legality had been submitted to the Solicitor General of the Nation for his opinion. The opinion held by the Solicitor General was contrary to the Government. During the interpellation in the Chamber, it was brought out that the decree had also been submitted to the Solicitor of the Treasury for an opinion on July 18th and that he as well had rendered an adverse opinion as to its legality. This opinion, however, was received in the Ministry of the Interior on July 22nd, three days after the decree had been issued and nine days after the signature of it by the President.

The whole affair was badly muddled, each department blaming the other and the Minister and President stating that it was signed inadvertently and without knowledge of the contents.

The decree was the work of the Director General of Posts and Telegraphs - Doctor Carlos Rissio Dominguez - , who has forwarded his resignation to the President as a result of this affair.

Source: Press

*F. D. Sharp*  
FREDERICK D. SHARP,  
Captain, G.S.  
Military Attache.

G-2 Report

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NOV 20 1935  
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MIL. INTELL. DIV.  
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WAR DEPARTMENT

ARGENTINA - Population and Social Conditions.

Subject: Press Censorship

Press Censorship Decree Repealed

RECEIVED G/2 W. D. NOV 19 1935

The press gag decree reported in Report No.5201 was repealed September 11th by the Government, the same day on which the Chamber of Deputies voted an interpellation of the Minister of the Interior, Dr. Melo.

The new governmental decree which derogated that of August 13th, stipulated a new set of harmless provisions, to which there should be no objections. These are as follows:

Press correspondents and news agencies are required to register their names, addresses and telephone numbers at the post office. The name of the person in charge of the bureau or agency must be specified and all messages sent abroad must contain the signature of the sender.

The original decree was never enforced and since Dr. Melo's return to Buenos Aires, it has been obvious that the Government has been seeking an easy way out, to repeal or modify its obnoxious requirements.

To date, the resignation of the Director of Posts and Telegraphs, Dr. Carlos Rizzo Dominguez - has not been accepted.

Source: Press

*Fredrick D. Sharp*  
FREDERICK D. SHARP,  
Captain, G.S.,  
Military Attache.

C-2 Report

ARGENTINA (Political)

Subject: Local Political Conditions.

(b) Current Situations:

An effort at tightening up the Public Service and preventing misuse of office is embodied in a recent decree of the Government which states that "the officials or employees of the public administration must cease from using their personal influence with regard to private matters".

The decree also states that the Government proposes to make the public offices more dignified, and that the officials must not make use of their advantageous positions to obtain favorable results in their private undertakings, or occasion any suspicion which might be detrimental to the position they hold.

In this connection, it is interesting to note the resolution recently issued by the new Director General of Posts & Telegraphs, Dr. Carlos Risso Dominguez. The purpose of this decree is to keep politics out of the Post Office Branch of the Public Service. The following are considered among the restricted political activities:

- a) Being a member of any party;
- b) Attending any political demonstration or meeting, whether private or public;
- c) Propaganda in favor of any party;
- d) Voting in public and in an ostensible manner conversations or expressing opinions of a political character;
- e) Allowing subordinates to take part in any of the foregoing activities;
- f) Making any statement which may show a preference for a given party.

The penalty for non-compliance with items a, b and c, is immediate dismissal; in the other cases the penalty may be either dismissal or temporary suspension, according to the seriousness of the offence.

Theoretically, the above decree is very near ideal, but we have a little difficulty associating all its requirements with our personal knowledge of politics in general, and Latin politics in particular. We believe it utterly impossible for them to divorce any branch of their Government from politics, especially as they have no civil service. From our experience of recent years, we know that even the Army and Navy, especially in the higher grades, are not only not free from politics, but carry a great deal of political weight.

From P.A. Argentina

Report No. 4557

April 21, 1932.

6-1 2657-L.113

AUG 1937

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G-2 Report.

ARGENTINA - Political.

Subject: Political Issues and Problems;  
Armed Forces in Politics.

Dr. Santiago Rey Basadre, a prominent local politician and member of Argentine Yacht Club, made a sensational speech at a Club dinner recently which has created quite a sensation although it was omitted from most reports of the occasion in the press at the time. It was, however, carried in certain Fascist organs which have gloated over the sentiments expressed. "Wild Words by Member of Argentine Yacht Club" was the heading of Buenos Aires Herald when the speech saw light outside the Fascist press.

Political and military circles are exercised over this extraordinary speech at the dinner which was attended by the Minister of Marine and high officers of the Navy because it attacked universal suffrage, violently criticised the Press and, what was more serious, urged the armed forces of the Nation to use their power in politics.

The astonishment which this speech produced was such that on July 13th the authorities of the Club published a statement expressly dis-associating themselves from the opinions expressed, and declaring that they in no way represented the sentiments of that entity.

The occasion was a dinner offered by the Yacht Club to the naval officers recently promoted, among whom was the Minister of Marine, Rear Admiral Eleazar Videla. The speaker criticised the President of the Republic for stating in a speech delivered a few days before that the armed forces should be divorced from politics. The sentiment would be praiseworthy, said Dr. Rey Basadre, if some vaccine had been invented to render the country immune from extremism; if the Saenz Peña law, which placed the rector of the University of Buenos Aires on an equal footing with any ignoramus or criminal were not in force; if certain newspapers did not poison the peoples' mind day after day; and if the ideal of an iron discipline had not been the cause of the present bloodshed in Spain, whereas a timely intervention of the armed forces would have prevented it.

He recalled that Gen. San Martin revolted against the Government in 1812, and added, what would have happened to the country if on September 6, 1930, the army and navy had held such narrow ideas regarding military honor? He denied that the 1930 revolution had been a popular movement for it had been planned, prepared and executed by General Uriburu and the armed forces.

Source: Local press.

*Lester Baker*  
Lester Baker, Col. Inf.,  
Military Attaché.

Original & 5 copies mailed July 17th.  
W/

From M/A Argentina.

Report N o. 5617. July 14, 1937.

6-1 2657- L 113

G-2 Report.

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ARGENTINA - Political.

Subject: Political Issues and Problems;  
Internal Politics Confused.

(Ref. Comments on M/A Reports, Nov. 22, 1939). RECEIVED 2/2 W. O. FEB 23 1940

Internal politics in Argentina at the present moment are in a very confused state. The elections to be held in March, 1940, are of greater importance than appear on the surface, as they are likely to bring about a complete change in the institutional and political situation of the country. The tendency to "radicalize" is recognized, and if followed to a logical conclusion means the eventual return to the majority of the Radicals, and this will probably give control in Congress to the present forces which form the Opposition, thereby eliminating what are known as the "select minorities", otherwise the Conservatives. The immediate results of this will be the disappearance of what is known today as the "Concordancia".

Even if the Radical Party were defeated in the Federal Capital in the forthcoming elections by the Socialist Party, which lately has reunited all its different groups, the Radicals are likely to have the majority in the Chamber of Deputies, the presidency of which will probably fall to D. Noel, the vice presidency to a Radical Rosado, and the second vice presidency to a Socialist. In the Senate, the Radicals will also have a majority, formed by the representatives of the provinces of Entre Rios, Tucuman, Santa Fé and Santiago del Estero. To these must be added the representatives of the Federal Capital, San Juan, Catamarca and Jujuy. This will give the President the support of 16 members as against 14 that would remain for the Conservatives, provided all of these remain firm, which is doubtful.

With a majority in both Houses, it is certain that the President will proceed to complete Radicalization of the country. The Province of Corrientes will be one of the first to have an interventor appointed by the Federal Executive, and should the elections to be held in Salta not be absolutely flawless this province will also be taken over by an interventor. Catamarca had an interventor on February 19th following the report of a special commission in that province certifying that the last elections were legally conducted, although fraud was rampant. It was reported that this intervention decree would be signed only by the Minister of Interior instead of by all the Ministers, in order that the Conservative members of the Cabinet should not find themselves in a position of cooperating in a measure which is clearly directed against their own Party. The decree, however, bore the signatures of seven of the eight Ministers, the remaining one, Dr. Cantilo, Minister of Foreign Affairs, being on vacation in the south.

In the Federal Capital it is probable that the Concordancia may still be held as a political label, but it is no less sure that the Radical Rosados, which form part of this, will vote for the Radical candidates, thus eliminating the Conservatives from the final polling lists.

The situation in the Province of Buenos Aires, which is considered the key position in the political situation, holds very poor prospects for the Conservative Party which is now in control, if, as is promised, a clean election is to be held. That is to say, if official pressure is not applied

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and the voters are allowed to vote freely. In connection with these coming elections in Buenos Aires, an interesting sidelight is that President Ortiz on the same day he issued the intervention decree for Catamarca he called into conference the two highest army chiefs in the Province of Buenos Aires to discuss the forthcoming elections. This is an unprecedented step. The Radical candidates, Doctors Siri and Suarez, appear to be waging a very successful campaign in the Province, and have the formal promise of the President that their party will be given all necessary guarantees at the time of voting and counting the ballots.

In view of the above-mentioned facts and the undoubted desire of the President to break away from the Conservative influence, it is hard to say what this party's reaction will be, as they consider themselves betrayed by Dr. Ortiz in view of the fact that they were responsible for his rise to power after the General Justo presidency.

One of the enigmas of this situation is the attitude that General Justo will assume. It is well known that he is the declared enemy of all Radicals who figured in the Government prior to the September 1930 Revolution, of which he was the principal mover, principally as the return to power of the Radicals will mean, inevitably, the return of most of the politicians who figured at that time.

The general impression of the Conservative forces of the country, that is to say the business and producing classes, is that the return to power at the present time of the Radical Party will bring about an era of political reprisals which will be highly prejudicial to the interests of the nation, especially under present world conditions.

General opinion is that, whatever the outcome of the political situation, peace will be maintained, but there is a possibility that the army may not think the same way, considering that a large number of its heads are not sympathizers with the regime deposed by the 1930 revolution.

It is very hard to predict what the real situation will be after the March elections, it will all depend on the attitude assumed by the President.

A change in internal politics in the near future is hardly likely to affect seriously the international situation, although Radical propaganda here lately has been very bitter against the United States, owing to the failure of the proposed commercial pacts between the two countries. This is one of the matters which will surely be taken up at the forthcoming sessions of the Argentine Congress, the Radicals being most nationalistic in their views as regards the United States.

Source: Personal Contacts;  
Press.

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